Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-94-014
Friday
21 January 1994

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FBIS-SOV-94-014

CONTENTS

21 January 1994

NOTICE TO READERS: DAILY REPORT volume no. 013 not published.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Georgian-Abkhaz Talks in Geneva 'Successfully Completed' *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Pastukhov Outlines Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Talks Detailed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 20 Jan]* 2
Iran Asked 'To Interfere' in Tajikistan, Karabakh *[Almaty Radio]* 2

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Kozyrev Discusses Reaction to Remarks on Baltics *[Moscow TV]* 3
Terms Reaction 'Hysterical' *[BNS]* 3
Views Baltic Positions *[INTERFAX]* 4
Kozyrev Denial of Remarks 'Limp' *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jan]* 4
Army Paper Backs Kozyrev Statements *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Jan]* 5
Baltic Premiers Discuss Security, Economic Issues *[Riga Radio]* 6
Agreement Signed on Peacekeeping Battalion *[BNS]* 6
Baltic Leaders Oppose Russian CE Entry *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 19 Jan]* 6
CIS, Belarus To Sign Pact on Minsk Headquarters *[INTERFAX]* 7
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Jan 7
Press Review for 20 Jan 8

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

General Cited on Missile Accord With U.S. *[Moscow Radio]* 10
Paper Urges Putting Higher Price on Space Deals *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Jan]* 10
Paper Views Aspin Resignation, Inman Withdrawal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Jan]* 11
Secretary Bentsen Buys Share in Candy Factory *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 20 Jan]* 12
Kozyrev Warns Against 'Hasty' NATO Expansion *[Budapest PESTI HIRLAP 19 Jan]* 12
Paper: NATO Fails To Find New 'Raison d'Etre' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Jan]* 12
Officials Urge Removing Nuclear Arms From Ukraine *[INTERFAX]* 14
Yeltsin Sends Kravchuk 'Harsh' Letter *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 20 Jan]* 15
Navy Concerned Over Ukraine's Action on Fleet *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 19 Jan]* 15
Foreign Ministry Official Karasin Holds Briefing 15
Kiev To Be Compensated for Nuclear Charges *[Moscow Radio]* 15
Advises Assessing Text of Kozyrev Speech *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Reaction to Speech Causes 'Indignation' *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Yugoslav-Croatian Agreement Welcomed *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 16
Churkin 'Disappointed' With Geneva Talks on Bosnia *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Paper Advises Against Monetary Union With Belarus *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Jan]* 17
Belarus Aide on Ruble Zone, Economic Partnership *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Jan]* 17
Kozyrev, Armenia's Papazyan Discuss Cease-Fire *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Officials on Talks *[INTERFAX]* 18
Russia Agrees to Prolong Sanctions Against Iraq *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Radio Reports DPRK Denies Japan Sold Apparatus *[Moscow International]* 19
Government To Ship Decommissioned Subs to DPRK *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Dealer: 3 Russian Subs Sold *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Gromov Denies Reports of Sales *[Radio Rossii]* 19
Deputy Minister Interviewed on Ties to Koreas *[Moscow International]* 20

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Official on Appointment of Deputy Premiers *[INTERFAX]* 22
Many Ministers To Retain Jobs; Chernomyrdin To Stay *[Russian TV]* 22

Yeltsin Signs Edict on New Government Appointments *[Moscow Radio]* 23
Further on Decree *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Chernomyrdin Holds News Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Boris Fedorov Confirmed as Finance Minister *[Moscow TV]* 24
Declines Post of Finance Minister *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Gives Reasons for Refusing Post *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Comments on Resignation *[Russian TV]* 24
Paper Cites Fedorov on Resignation Decision *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 Jan]* 25
Yavlinskiy Says 'Nothing Has Been Altered' *[INTERFAX]* 25
Filippov Says Yeltsin Formed 'Compromise' Government *[ITAR-TASS]* 25
New Government Holds First Meeting 21 Jan *[ITAR-TASS]* 25
Chernomyrdin Gains 'Political Weight' Amid 'Crisis' *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Chernomyrdin Denies 'Crisis' *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Says 'Market Romanticism' Over *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Comments on Economic Reform *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Speaks on Government-Federal Assembly Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Shakhray Prepared To Accept Post in Government *[INTERFAX]* 28
Accepts Post *[ITAR-TASS]* 29
Demands Direct Responsibility to Premier *[ITAR-TASS]* 29
More on Shakhray Press Conference *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jan]* 29
Views Year of Regional Frictions *[ROSSIYA 9-25 Jan]* 29
Shokhin Accepts Post as Economics Minister *[INTERFAX]* 31
Says Market Reforms to Continue *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
States Government Not Fully Reorganized *[INTERFAX]* 31
Airs Views on Economics Ministry *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Gaydar Interviewed on Resignation, Plans *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jan]* 32

Space Issues

Yeltsin Awards Honors to Mir Cosmonaut *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
Cosmonauts' Rocky Landing Reviewed *[Moscow TV]* 35
Cosmonauts To Make Spacewalk To Check Space Station *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
Cosmonauts Say Mir Operating Conditions Normal *[INTERFAX]* 36
Cosmonauts Conduct Medical Experiments *[ITAR-TASS]* 36
Cargo Spaceship Continues Orbital Flight *[ITAR-TASS]* 36
Military Space Forces To Launch TV Relay Satellite *[ITAR-TASS]* 36
Launch Postponed *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
TV Satellite Onboard Proton Launch *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
More on Mir Cosmonauts' Meeting With Journalists *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jan]* 37

UKRAINE

International Affairs

U.S. Envoy Explains Security Guarantees *[UNIAN]* 39
Defense Chief Assesses 'Timely' Trilateral Accord *[INTERFAX]* 39
Compensation for Uranium Viewed at Briefing *[Kiev Radio]* 39
Foreign Ministry Official on START Ratification *[Kiev International]* 39
Supreme Council Member Meets WEU, NATO Officials *[UNIAR]* 40
Kiev 'Not Obliged' To Inform Moscow of Nuclear Accidents *[INTERFAX]* 40
Agreement With Russia on Use of Space Center *[Kiev International]* 41
Baltin Enlists Yermakov Under Command *[ITAR-TASS]* 41
Ukraine, PRC Envoys Discuss Nuclear Disarmament *[Kiev International]* 41
Poland Arrests Ukrainian 'Special Services Major' *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jan]* 41
Kravchuk Views Ties With Russia, Situation *[TRUD 19 Jan]* 41
Parliamentary Plenum Discusses Arms Agreement *[UNIAN]* 45
Party Urges Kravchuk Impeachment Over Accord *[UNIAR]* 46
Rukh Leader Criticizes Kravchuk, U.S. *[Kiev International]* 46
Green Party Favors Accord With Reservations *[UNIAN]* 46
Kazakh President Arrives in Kiev for Talks *[UKRINFORM]* 47
Tours Aircraft Center With Kravchuk *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
Signs Cooperation Agreements *[UNIAN]* 47

Uzbek Defense Minister Arrives on Official Visit *[Kiev International]* 47
Military Cooperation Accord Signed *[UNIAR]* 48

National Affairs

Supreme Council Discusses Events in Crimea *[UNIAR]* 48
Kravchuk Removes Crimean Envoy From Duties *[ITAR-TASS]* 48
Crimea Frontrunner Views Ties With Kiev *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jan]* 49
Crimean Deputy Dies From Wounds in Attack *[Kiev Radio]* 49
Kravchuk on Aspects of State Building, Crimea *[UNIAR]* 49
Attack on Rukh Offices, Missing Official Reported *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 19 Jan]* 49
Rukh Protests 'Terrorist Acts' *[UNIAN]* 50
Rukh Assails 'Anti-Popular Measures' *[Kiev International]* 50
Kravchuk Fires Representative in Ternopol Oblast *[Kiev TV]* 50
Kravchuk Favors Balanced Division of Powers *[INTERFAX]* 50
Kravchuk Orders Streamlining Local Governments *[Kiev Radio]* 51
Government Examines Draft Budget, Economic Plan *[UNIAN]* 51
Parliament Commission Rejects Draft Budget *[Kiev International]* 51
Unions Demand Cabinet Resignation, Call Strike *[UNIAN]* 51
Party Representatives Present Election Platforms 52
Christian Democratic, Labor Congress *[Kiev International]* 52
Democratic Party, Rukh Platforms *[Kiev TV]* 53
Free Peasants, Social Justice Platforms *[Kiev TV]* 54

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Shushkevich Confirms Deployment of Troops in Minsk *[Minsk Radio]* 55
'New Scandal' of Troops' Appearance Rocks Parliament *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
Commission Urges Resignation of Yegorov, Shirkovskiy *[INTERFAX]* 55
People's Deputies Discuss CIS Charter *[Minsk Radio]* 55
Deputy Details Discussion on Removal of Shushkevich *[AFP]* 56
Shushkevich Views Domestic Policies in TV Program *[ZVYAZDA 19 Jan]* 56
Official Seeks Vote of Confidence in State Leaders *[INTERFAX]* 57
People's Movement To Form 'Shadow' Government *[RID]* 57

Moldova

Dniester Military Commander Condemns State of Emergency *[ITAR-TASS]* 57
Smirnov Accuses Chisinau of Imposing Economic 'Blockade' *[BASAPRESS]* 58
Dniester Republic Threatens To Cut Off Gas, Power *[INTERFAX]* 58
Dniester Republic Outlaws Moldova Elections *[INTERFAX]* 58
Dniester Residents Ask Snegur To Permit Elections *[BASAPRESS]* 58

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

China Assures Defense Minister No Territorial Claims *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Jan]* 59
Call To Amend Strategic Nuclear Forces Military Oath *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Jan]* 59

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Views Economic Accord With Uzbekistan *[Moscow Radio]* 59
Communique Issued on Uzbek President's Visit *[Tashkent Radio]* 59

Tajikistan

Rebel Forces Expected To Attack Russian Troops *[INTERFAX]* 60
Rakhmanov Expresses Gratitude for CIS Support *[Moscow International]* 60
Rakhmanov Interviewed on Political, Military Issues *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Jan]* 60

Uzbekistan

Khamidov Appointed To Replace Finance Minister *[UZBEKISTAN APN]* 62

CAUCASUS

Armenia

New Azerbaijani Offensive Reported in Karabakh *[Yerevan Radio]* 63
Defense Minister Denies Air Attack on Azerbaijan *[SNARK]* 63
Battles Continue in Karabakh; Casualties Given *[Yerevan Radio]* 63
Intelligence Chief's Selection Seen as Political *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 20 Jan]* 63

Azerbaijan

Gasanov Turns Down Secretary of State Post *[Moscow Radio]* 64
Aliyev on 4th Anniversary of 20 Jan 'Tragedy' *[Baku TV]* 64
Offensive Waged Along Entire Karabakh Front *[INTERFAX]* 64

Georgia

Shevardnadze Seeks 'Pretext' for Troop Presence *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 20 Jan]* 64
Emergency Rule Extended; More Troops Sought *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 20 Jan]* 65
General Kondratyev Reported to Visit Georgia *[Tbilisi Radio]* 65
Russian General Denies Troops Sent to Georgia *[SNARK]* 65
Press Service Denies Russia Set Conditions on Ruble Zone *[Tbilisi Radio]* 66
Georgia, Russia Reach Agreement on Trade *[ITAR-TASS]* 66
Shevardnadze Seeks Forensic Test on Gamsakhurdia *[Tbilisi Radio]* 66
Cabinet Appoints Security Adviser, Officials *[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 7 Jan]* 67
Official on New Security Body, Ties With Russia *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 13 Jan]* 67

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Envoy Delivers NATO 'Partnership' Application *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 69
Explanation of Russia's Foreign Policy Sought *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 69
Kozyrev's 18 Jan Remarks Protested *[Tallinn Radio]* 69
Parliament Protests Statement *[Tallinn Radio]* 69
Official Inquiry Presented to CSCE *[Tallinn Radio]* 69
Minister Olesk Comments *[BNS]* 70
Further on Olesk Comments *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 70
'Rough Ideas,' 'Themes' for Response *[Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Release]* 70
Laar Says Gaydar Resignation 'Turn Backwards' *[INTERFAX]* 71
Lithuanian Premier Meets Laar, Views Summit *[INTERFAX]* 71
Reinart Appointed Leader of Delegation to Talks *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 19 Jan]* 71
Legislators Pass Health Care Law *[BNS]* 72

Latvia

President Clinton Telephones Ulmanis *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
Russian Navy Commanders Meet Latvian Counterpart *[Riga Radio]* 72
Ministry Will Not Alter Stance on Comments *[BNS]* 72
U.S., Russia Said To Agree on Russian Presence *[Riga Radio]* 73
Talks Leader Criticizes Russia's 'New Stance' *[Riga Radio]* 73
Court Chairman on Russian Military Incident *[LETA]* 73

Lithuania

Kozyrev Remarks Said To Refer to 'New Annexation' *[Vilnius International]* 73
Deputies Comment on Statements *[Vilnius International]* 74
Reaction to NATO Membership Application Viewed *[RESPUBLIKA 6 Jan]* 75
Brazauskas on Nation's Motives for Joining NATO *[Helsinki Radio]* 76
No 'Major Disputes' in Border Talks With Poland *[BNS]* 76

Georgian-Abkhaz Talks in Geneva 'Successfully Completed'

LD1401140694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2130 GMT 13 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva 14 Jan—The second round of talks on a Georgia-Abkhazia settlement, which have more than once approached the danger point and threatened to collapse altogether, has been successfully completed. The outcome of three days of tense debates, continuing virtually around the clock, was the adoption of decisions on the more complex questions of the Abkhaz drama such as the return of refugees, strengthening trust and security, and the use of peacekeeping forces. These decisions were included in a communique of the meeting that was signed by the heads of the delegations and representatives of the United Nations, Russia, and the CSCE.

The current round in Geneva, like the previous one from 30 November to 1 December, was held under the aegis of the United Nations, assisted by Russia. The Georgian delegation was headed by Jaba Ioseliani, chairman of the Provisional Committee for the State of Emergency and deputy of the Georgian Supreme Council, and the Abkhazian delegation by Sokrat Dzhindzholiya, chairman of the Abkhaz Council of Ministers.

Much effort had to be put in by the mediators—Eduard Brunner, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, the head of the Russian delegation—to make the agreement possible. "The talks were difficult," the Russian envoy said in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. "The main reason was the very acute problems that had built up over 18 months of conflict. A great deal of blood has been shed and the war has brought misery to hundreds of thousands of people. And yet, despite the sharp clash of points of view, and when it seemed that a compromise was impossible, they were able to achieve a positive outcome to the talks, and this is another important step toward a full-scale settlement to the conflict in Abkhazia."

One of the main results was the commitment endorsed by the sides in the communique not to use force and not to resort to threats to use it. The sides appealed to the UN Security Council to widen the UN Mandate on Supervision in Georgia, which requires it to ensure that there is no resumption of hostilities. They spoke in favor of deploying UN peacekeeping forces or other forces sanctioned by the United Nations in the conflict zone, expressing their mutual consent to the use of the Russian military contingent in such forces. The deployment of the "blue berets" should be followed by the withdrawal of all armed formations over the course of five days from the Inguri River and other possible zones of confrontation and the replacement of them by the peacekeeping forces. All volunteer formations and individuals who have come to take part in the conflict should be disarmed and withdrawn.

A commission for problems of refugees is being set up with the participation of representatives of the sides, the United Nations, and Russia. It has been decided to start a stage-by-stage return of refugees and displaced persons to Abkhazia on 10 February—beginning with Galskiy Rayon. The most difficult question—the future political status of Abkhazia—will be discussed within the framework of the previously formed group of experts that will assemble for the next meeting in Moscow on 8 February. On 22 February the delegations and the international mediators intend to hold a new round of talks in Moscow or Geneva.

Member of the Georgian delegation Sandro Kavsadze, the chairman of Georgia's Committee for Human Rights and Interethnic Relations, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the talks had made it possible "to move forward toward a settlement." Even though the debate was of "very heated and there was a degree of confrontation," "on the main issues we reached agreement and understanding."

Having noted the great importance of the accords, head of the Abkhaz delegation Sokrat Dzhindzholiya stressed the important role of the Russian Federation in a settlement. "Thanks to the efforts of the Russian delegation, and of Russia as a whole, a great many positive things were achieved," he said in an interview with the ITAR-TASS correspondent. Even before this the Russian Federation had been doing everything possible in order to bring our positions closer together. Furthermore, life itself has, evidently, meant it to take part in the destiny of the peoples that were joined by the Soviet Union. There is simply no other way out. Neither other countries nor the United Nations have the strength or the means to do this. What is more, no one knows better than Russia the situation on the territory of the former USSR.

Pastukhov Outlines Talks

LD1401153494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 14 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva January 14 TASS—"Russia is ready to continue playing the role of mediator in the Abkhazian conflict. Our participation in the search for reconciliation will be most active, vigorous, and practical," ITAR-TASS was told by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, who headed the Russian delegation to the second round of Georgian-Abkhazian negotiations, held in Geneva from January 11-13.

"The three-day intensive debates were rounded off by a joint communique, outlining the priority measures to settle the problem of refugees and to strengthen confidence and security. One more important step was made towards a full-scale settlement of the conflict," the Russian representative said. He believes that the mutually confirmed commitment of the sides not to resort to force or to threats to use it was among the main results of the meeting.

"Both sides are now even more aware that stable peace cannot be ensured without international observers and

peace-making forces. The sides, involved in the conflict, have expressed their common consent to see a Russian military contingent as part of the peacekeeping force. Russia will discharge peace-keeping functions if a corresponding decision is adopted by the Security Council and the Russian leadership. The number of the needed servicemen will be determined by the mandate issued by the U.N. Security Council," Pastukhov stated.

"Agreement was reached that a team of experts would discuss in Moscow the key problem of the settlement—the future political status of Abkhazia. As to the position of the United Nations, Russia and CSCE, they urge the sides in the communique to proceed from the need of ensuring Georgia's territorial integrity and to fully guarantee the interests of the entire multinational population of Abkhazia.

Talks Detailed

PM2001124394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Konstantin Pribytkov report under "Conflict" rubric: "Talks Promise Peace in Abkhazia"]

[Text] Geneva—After repeatedly approaching the danger line and teetering on the verge of failure the second round of talks in Geneva on a Georgian-Abkhazian settlement has ended successfully. The intensive three-day discussions, which went on virtually around the clock, resulted in decisions on the most complex problems in the Abkhazian drama, such as the return of the refugees, the strengthening of confidence and security, and the use of peacekeeping forces. These decisions have been included in the communique of the meeting, which was signed by the heads of the delegations and the representatives of the United Nations, Russia, and the CSCE.

The present round of talks in Geneva, like the previous one (30 November-1 December), has been conducted under the aegis of the United Nations with Russia's assistance. The Georgian delegation was headed by Dzhaba Ioseliani, chairman of the Interim Committee for the State of Emergency and parliamentary deputy, and the Abkhazian delegation by Sokrat Dzhindzholiya, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

A lot of effort had to be exerted by the international mediators—Edouard Brunner, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and Boris Pastukhov, Russian Federation deputy foreign minister—to make agreement possible.

One of the main results was the commitment, affirmed by the sides in the communique, not to use force and not to resort to the threat of force. The sides asked the UN Security Council to extend the mandate of the UN observation mission in Georgia, instructing it to monitor the nonresumption of hostilities. They advocated locating in the conflict zone UN peacekeeping forces or other forces sanctioned by the United Nations, expressing mutual agreement to the use of a Russian military contingent within them. The stationing of the "blue helmets" must be followed by the withdrawal of all armed formations within five days from the Inguri River and other possible zones of confrontation—their place will be taken by the peacekeeping forces. The sundry volunteer formations and individuals who have arrived to participate in the conflict must be disarmed and withdrawn.

A commission for refugee problems is being formed with the participation of representatives of the sides, the United Nations, and Russia. It is planned to start the phased return of refugees and displaced persons to Abkhazia as of 10 February—to Galskiy Rayon in the first phase. The most difficult question involved in finding a settlement—that of Abkhazia's future political status—will be discussed within the framework of the previously formed group of experts, which will meet for its next sitting 8 February in Moscow. On 22 February the delegations and international mediators intend to conduct a new round of talks in Moscow or Geneva.

As Sandro Kavsadze, member of the Georgian delegation and chairman of the Georgian committee for human rights and interethnic relations, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent, the talks have made it possible "to move toward a settlement." Although the discussion was of a "very sharp nature and there were some fairly conflictual situations," "we reached agreement and understanding on the main issues."

Having noted the great significance of the agreements, Sokrat Dzhindzholiya, head of the Abkhazian delegation, emphasized the important role of the Russian Federation in the settlement. "Thanks to the efforts of the Russian delegation and Russia as a whole, many positive results were achieved," he said in an interview with ITAR-TASS's correspondent. "Even in the past the Russian Federation did all it could to bring our positions closer together. Indeed, life itself evidently preordains it to participate in the fate of the peoples which were brought together by the Soviet Union."

Iran Asked 'To Interfere' in Tajikistan, Karabakh

LD1701160994 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 17 Jan 94

[Text] The heads of states of Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan appealed to Iran to interfere in order to settle the crisis in Tajikistan, said Deputy Foreign Minister (?Iri) 'Abbas Maleki in Tehran. He noted that at the Tehran meeting of ministers the issue will be raised on the settlement of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Kozyrev Discusses Reaction to Remarks on Baltics

LD1901215594 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1845 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by unidentified correspondent on 19 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] There were reports in the media about your address at the conference of CIS and Baltic ambassadors, in which you said that the threat to Russia comes from the former Soviet republics. Is that true?

[Kozyrev] What I said was that we face dangers from the former USSR territories, which is demonstrated by the bloody conflicts regrettably developing in some of these republics, where we are forced to act as intermediaries and peacekeepers. However, prospects are probably even better for solving many issues, including those connected with protection of the Russian and the Russian-speaking population as well as the development of economic, historic, cultural, and other ties.

[Correspondent] In other words, the media has dramatized the danger?

[Kozyrev] Well, this is shifting the emphasis somewhat, but I repeat that, indeed, not only the danger but also enormous opportunities come from those territories. This is the objective reality because we do have millions of refugees from the conflict zones, and we see these conflicts on TV every day. These conflicts destabilize the situation close to the Russian borders, and it would be strange if we did not notice it and did not talk about this danger.

Another issue is that a completely artificial campaign has been launched in Latvia—and in Latvia it is on the official level—and in some of the media in other Baltic countries, where they deliberately distort what I say, apparently so that they can have the opportunity to make yet another appeal for help and again invite sympathy from their Western partners.

In this respect the statement of the Latvian officials that they are to make an immediate appeal to Washington is very symptomatic. The hasty, inappropriate, and unbalanced reaction of the U.S. State Department representative which was not based on real facts—and which I had an opportunity to point out to the American ambassador today—is, of course, no less surprising. I do think that our partnership merits having the State Department spokesman get it right before criticizing Russia's foreign minister.

As for the Baltic situation, the core of the matter there is this: If the Baltic states want to be civilized states, perhaps Latvia, rather than raise this artificial and absolutely unfounded screaming, should concentrate on drawing up agreements on the conditions for withdrawal...[pauses] To have it on the basis of an agreement, because an agreement basis means an equal basis, you will not join a treaty that violates your prestige, sovereignty, or interests...[pauses] to build good-neighborly relations and to guarantee geopolitical interests.

Russia's special interests, Russia's special role lie in the fact that we are forced to bear a special, perhaps a larger, burden compared with our partners in the Commonwealth, in peace-making operations. It is Russian troops who are defending the common border at present. This is reflected in CIS documents. This is not our interpretation. This is a common interpretation.

We cannot leave Tajikistan to fate. It is impossible for us not to participate in the mediation efforts in Nagorno-Karabakh, for example. It is impossible for us not to participate in the mediation efforts in Georgia, for example, if we are asked to.

At the same time, we are not sending tanks to suppress these republics. That is, our special role means exactly that we are against extremes: either complete indifference and withdrawal, or just the opposite, an imperial dictate. It is a role that must be performed day by day, fulfilling one's responsibilities and respecting one's neighbors and their sovereignty, and strengthening the CIS.

This fully applies to the Baltic states. As soon as Lithuania demonstrated its readiness to sign a package of agreements with us, the relations immediately improved. The troops have been withdrawn, and prospects for the future are excellent.

The same applies to Latvia. As soon as an approach toward signing agreements prevails there, inter alia on withdrawal of troops and other matters, instead of these propaganda campaigns or recent provocative actions, Russia will be ready—we are ready—to continue, in spite of all these campaigns.

Terms Reaction 'Hysterical'

WS2001171194 Tallinn BNS in English 1318 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, Jan 20, Interfax-BNS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has termed as "strange" and "hysterical" the reaction by the three Baltic countries to his remarks made at a meeting in Moscow Tuesday [18 January].

Russia has no intention to violate the sovereignty of Latvia in whatever way, but the withdrawal of Russian troops must take place in a normal and civilized manner, and according to an agreement, Kozyrev said.

"Russian troops cannot leave at once; this depends on a number of circumstances that are also known to the Baltic partners. Russia's firm objective is that the withdrawal should take place on a legal treaty basis—this will also strengthen the sovereignty of these countries," he said.

The Russian foreign minister said his country was following a specific line of conduct in its relations with the former republics of the Soviet Union, or its so-called close abroad, vacillating between two extreme options: to send in tanks or demand fully abandoning these regions. Kozyrev said either of these options would lead to the repetition of the so-called Yugoslavia scenario on the former Soviet territories.

Kozyrev said the same would happen if Russia's special role was denied. He said that if Russian troops were pulled out from Tajikistan, if they abandoned their peacekeeping activity in the Karabakh, Ossetia and other regions of conflict, millions of refugees—all of them not inevitably of Slavic origin—would flood Moscow. He said this was a thing Russia couldn't let happen.

Kozyrev said the West was "not always able to understand these simple truths."

He warned that Russia was not going to remain still if the rights of Russian-speakers in the Baltics were violated. Saying that the negotiations held separately with all three Baltic countries on the issue of their Russian-speaking population were going on normally, Kozyrev mentioned that using more rigid measures was possible if a violation of international legal norms took place in the Baltics.

"We spoke already before Zhirinovskiy that economic sanctions might be imposed against countries which follow such a policy," the foreign minister said. But he also warned of the possibility of provocations by pro-fascist forces in Russia.

Views Baltic Positions

LD1901215194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said that he had a meeting with the U.S. ambassador to Moscow Thomas Pickering to discuss the statement made Tuesday by the State Department spokesman. Commenting on Kozyrev's remarks at a conference on the Russian policy towards the CIS member states the spokesman had not even troubled to verify the text of Kozyrev's statement. "What is strange is that a press secretary starts argument with a minister," Kozyrev said Wednesday in conclusion of the conference.

Kozyrev also described the reaction of the Baltic states as strange. In his view, certain political figures there used his remarks out of the context of the entire speech which was not specifically about Latvia and had a fit of "hysterics." He explained that he wanted the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics to proceed on a civilized basis of bilateral agreements. Kozyrev emphasized that troops could not be withdrawn overnight. "Our Baltic partners know this very well. Russia will be firm about this. An orderly withdrawal in the framework of agreements will contribute to consolidation of the sovereignty of those countries," Kozyrev emphasized.

The minister said that the Russian government was under pressure from extremists demanding that tanks be sent there and those who wanted Russia to withdraw completely from former Soviet republics. In his view, each of them would lead to a replay of the Yugoslav scenario in what used to be the USSR.

He thinks that ignoring the special role played by Russia would also lead to a disaster. "If Russia gets out of Tajikistan, discontinues its peace mission in Karabakh, Ossetia and other trouble spots, where will the refugees move, some of them not Slavic at all? Where will the Tajiks, Georgians, Abkhazians and Ossetians go? They will go to Moscow. We cannot and will not allow this," Kozyrev said.

The minister emphasized that appropriate agreements had to be signed on the stay of Russian troops in the republics that needed them.

In his words, "our Western partners sometimes find it difficult to comprehend these simple truths.... They don't seem to understand the special role played by Russia and so panicky noises are made that Kozyrev calls for Russian military presence on foreign soil." This reminded him of the former USSR's diplomacy which created a bogey of an enemy and made continuous noise about U.S. bases.

Kozyrev warned that Russia would not keep silent when the rights of the Russian-speaking population in former Soviet republics were infringed on. He said that negotiations on the Russian speaking population were underway with the leaders of all former Soviet republics and added that if the international law was ignored and the rights of the Russian speaking population were violated, Russia could "take a tough line.... We had been saying even before Zhirinovskiy that economic sanctions can be imposed on states that pursue this kind of policy." On the other hand, he warned against yielding to pro-fascist forces in Russia.

Kozyrev Denial of Remarks 'Limp'

PM2001133394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Kozyrev Did Not Demand That Troops Be Left in Latvia and Estonia"]

[Text] On Tuesday evening ITAR-TASS produced a sensation by transmitting Andrey Kozyrev's words about the need to keep a Russian military presence in the Baltic countries since Moscow has vitally important interests in that region.

The Baltic leaders responded instantly. The point of their statement cam down to the fact that Russia's viewpoint is unacceptable to Latvia and Estonia, which continue to insist on the speediest withdrawal of troops and do not want to come within the sphere of anyone's interests. The U.S. State Department has stated that it

intends to appeal to the Russian Government for explanations and that Kozyrev's words radically contradict the position voiced by Boris Yeltsin during recent talks with Bill Clinton.

A few hours after the TASS report Foreign Ministry officials, answering telephone calls from Russian and foreign journalists, began to issue denials. According to a employee of the information and press department, ITAR-TASS took Kozyrev's words out of context and distorted their meaning: "Addressing a meeting with Russian ambassadors to the countries of 'nearby foreign parts,' the minister spoke of the need to strengthen ties with all republics of the former USSR, including the Baltic states. He then turned to military issues and here there was talk only of CIS members. That is, his words about retaining a Russian military presence in the zone of vitally important interests in no way apply to the Baltics. That cannot be understood from the ITAR-TASS report: You formed the impression that Kozyrev had in mind all former Soviet republics."

The incident would seem to be exhausted. Nonetheless, many questions remain. Why, having learned of the annoying blunder which caused such a barrage of responses, did neither Kozyrev himself nor his press service immediately issue a resolute denial? The Foreign Ministry's official statement on this score will to all appearances be made public only at 1400 on Thursday, at a briefing by Grigoriy Karasin, chief of the information and press department.

By noon on 19 January the embassies of the Baltic states in Moscow had not yet been informed that the words ascribed to Kozyrev do not accord with reality. The denial was remarkably limp. As a result half a day was lost—during this time foreign newspapers and agencies and radio and television broadcast many commentaries far from favorable to Russia and its foreign policy department and its chief.

Army Paper Backs Kozyrev Statements

PM2001114594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 1

[Vladimir Gavrilenko article: "Neighboring Foreign Countries Were, Are, and Remain a Zone of Russia's Vital Interests"]

[Text] Our Russian passion for proverbs and sayings is universally known. You will recall that even U.S. President Reagan was fond of impressing us by using old Russian folk sayings. God himself ordained that we should "stigmatize" our own deeds with a scathing phrase. Which is what we do. Recall this one: "The Russian peasant is wise after the event." First he does something, then he scratches his head and says: "Well, why did I do that...." Is he annoyed with himself? That is hard to say.... But is the Russian not offended when, in the fourth year of his state's existence, he hears the foreign minister saying clearly, firmly, but too late: "The CIS and Baltic countries are the region where Russia's paramount vital interests are concentrated. It is from there that the main threats to those interests stem." Thank you, Andrey Vladimirovich, for this unambiguous and definitive comment at the recently concluded Foreign Ministry conference on questions of Russia's foreign policy in neighboring foreign countries.

To be fair, this idea began to be expressed, albeit timidly, back in 1992. But nevertheless it was not unjustifiably timid in Russian terms. It was drowned out then by the thunder of the collapse of the Soviet empire, the euphoria caused by the acquisition of sovereignty, and the unfeigned and sincere joy of the fledgling Russian democracy at the appearance of a number of sovereign states nearby. Yes, yes, joy, because it had helped in the struggle of those selfsame Baltic republics against the Union center. This support may only have been moral but it was support nonetheless. But the naive expectation of requited love from the newly independent Balts gave way to disappointment—the Soviet "occupation forces" became Russian. Forces of occupation, as we know, have to leave. Then people remembered that in this regard the Gorbachev center was not all that bad: It tried to set a five-year term for the "divorce" of the young sovereign states from their hated "master."

Everyone, both those who had fled from the Union and Russia's democrats, saw this as merely an attempt to preserve the empire. However, there was another aspect too—the geopolitical and military-strategic. You only had to look back and closely examine the history of Russia, which has reached the Baltic after several centuries by blood and sweat, and then raise your hand to your eyes and look beyond the horizon of our disorganized life today to realize that the forced march from the Baltic must not be so rashly and humiliatingly fast. But what has happened has happened. We now have the added factor of the destabilization of the domestic political situation and tremendous tension within the army milieu. You may say what you like but it is the military man on active service or the retired military man who has suffered most of all—the former is facing unprecedented deprivations as he settles down in Russia while the latter has been turned into a second-class citizen in the Baltic states.

But while punning on the subject of the times, it is comforting to think that they can still change. The feeling that Russia has no specific interests in neighboring foreign countries is being agonizingly replaced by the realization that it has a special role to play in the post-Soviet area.

In this regard 1992 was a crucial year. The many armed conflicts along Russia's borders, the infringement of Russia's state interests in strategically important neighboring regions, and finally the shameless and at times humiliating pressure on our fellow countrymen in neighboring foreign countries has led to the realization that we cannot close our eyes and ears and withdraw into our own Russian backyard. This is an act of criminal disrespect if you think of the many centuries of Russia's

arduous history, it is a facile way to treat the country's future, and it is immoral toward those 25 million of our fellow countrymen who now find themselves separated from the motherland.

So, thank God, it seems that Russia's difficult, months-long progress toward an understanding of its own role in neighboring foreign countries is nearing the desired end. Undoubtedly there is still much work to be done to make the process of Russia's adaptation in the post-Soviet area civilized, successful, and worthy of a great country. But the finishing touches have been added, it seems, and Russia's foreign policy priorities in neighboring foreign countries have been listed. When speaking about them the Russian foreign minister remarked that "Russia must preserve its military presence in regions which have been spheres of its military interest for centuries." He added: "The withdrawal of all military presence from those regions is the same extreme approach as imperial suppression using tanks." In the event of withdrawal, Andrey Kozyrev is convinced, the "security vacuum" thus created will not always necessarily be filled by friendly forces. Another vital priority is the protection of the Russian-speaking population, our fellow countrymen. "To help create conditions in which Russians feel that they are equal citizens"—that is how the foreign minister put it.

I think that these comments by Andrey Kozyrev will be understood precisely as they stand. Because attempts by anyone anywhere to assume the role of interpreter and organizer of Russian affairs in neighboring foreign countries will now be viewed as unfriendly acts. Russia is ceasing to do that which historically was inappropriate to it—backpedalling. Russia is making it plain that everyone who wants to live with it in love and fond accord should take account of its geopolitical interests. Just as it is prepared to do unto others. With determination, dignity, and honor.

Baltic Premiers Discuss Security, Economic Issues

LD1901113594 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] [First unidentified announcer] Talks on security and economic problems of the Baltic states are taking place in Jurmala between the prime ministers and government delegations of the Baltic states. The delegations are discussing issues related to national security, power engineering, border protection, customs, consular relations, trade and agriculture, as well as social protection.

[Second unidentified announcer] The delegations must agree on several fundamental issues of the creation of the Council of Ministers of the Baltic States and information bureaus of the Baltic states.

The prime ministers of the three countries are discussing the problems of national security and power engineering. Apart from that, bilateral talks are scheduled between Latvian and Lithuanian representatives on the construction of the Liepaja oil terminal as well as on the Latvian-Lithuanian sea border.

[First announcer] As early as on 18 January, after a meeting with Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar, Adolfas Slezevicius, head of the Lithuanian Government, stated that power engineering was a priority direction in cooperation between the Baltic states.

Slezevicius and Laar were mainly speaking about the strengthening of cooperation in the sphere of power engineering, as well as the increasing of power engineering autonomy and the possibility of importing energy resources from the West.

Agreement Signed on Peacekeeping Battalion

WS1901192194 Tallinn BNS in English 1707 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 19, BNS—The prime ministers of the Baltic states signed today agreements on strengthening the countries' eastern borders and on forming a Baltic peacekeeping battalion.

Latvian Premier Valdis Birkavs and his Estonian counterpart, Mart Laar, said at a press conference later the events of the last few days force the Baltic states to intensify cooperation in security. This was the primary topic of today's meeting in Jurmala near Riga.

Birkavs, Laar and Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius signed a joint statement condemning Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's remarks on "Russian interests" in the Baltic states. Kozyrev hinted that a continued Russian military presence is needed in the Baltics.

Laar said at the press conference the Baltic states stand firm that Russian troops must be withdrawn from Estonia and Latvia by the end of August.

The Latvian premier noted that the government heads may sign also an agreement on economic cooperation. Agreements on consular relations and on a common visa space are still under discussion in three-way working groups.

The Baltic states are expected to sign today an agreement on cooperation in energy, and Latvia and Lithuania will probably conclude a contract for building jointly a fuel terminal at Liepaja in Latvia.

Baltic Leaders Oppose Russian CE Entry

PM1901101194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Jan 94 p 3

[Report by correspondent Sergey Balyutskiy: "'Return Salvo' for Setback in NATO"]

[Text] Vilnius—Addressing a press conference devoted to the Vilnius meeting of leaders of delegations from Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia to the Council of Europe

(the first two states are members, Latvia has guest status), Lithuanian representative A. Gritsyus stated that Lithuania will vote against Russia's admission to that international organization. According to its leader Ye. Kelam, the Estonian delegation will adhere to the same position.

As we know, some time ago Russia was refused admission to the Council of Europe [CE] because at the time it lacked a Constitution and democratically elected parliament.

"Yes, today Russia has a Constitution and a parliament. But they are only part of the requirements which that state must fulfill," A. Gritsyus believes. In his opinion, before being admitted to the Council of Europe Russia must also resolve its national and ethnic problems. In addition one of the new conditions set by the Baltic states is the demand that it publish a statement officially denouncing the USSR's aggression against Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in 1940.

The unacceptability of this latter demand for Russia—as indeed, for any other state—is obvious. Poland, for instance, categorically refused to include a point denouncing its seizure of Vilnius and the Vilnius district in 1920 in the treaty on friendship and cooperation between Poland and Lithuania, which was thus not adopted for that reason. Polish politicians believe that this point could be interpreted too freely. Does the repetition of a similar demand but this time against Russia not signify a kind of "return salvo" in response to Lithuania's unsuccessful a tempt to join NATO, which Moscow categorically opposed?

The aim of these demarches is clear. It is to isolate Russia from the all-European peace process and to prevent it from taking its lawful place in the Council of Europe and other European structures. In the opinion of the Baltic politicians, the opposite course of events would, albeit obliquely, legitimize Russia's right to the role of guarantor of stability in East Europe.

CIS, Belarus To Sign Pact on Minsk Headquarters

LD1801203294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1723 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] The Executive Secretariat of the CIS and the government of Belarus are to sign an agreement formalizing the location of Commonwealth headquarters in Minsk, the CIS executive secretary said.

Ivan Korotchenya told INTERFAX that the Executive Secretariat and other CIS bodies were having serious problems at present. He said that because "the embassies of Turkey and Ukraine, the U.N. mission and the premises of some commercial structures are located in the Commonwealth building, the government and high-frequency communications systems in the building have been disconnected, which defies all logic."

"The government of Belarus has still not solved the accommodation problem for officials from Commonwealth countries. The Economic Court of the CIS is situated in an unsuitable place, too," Korotchenya said.

He expressed the hope that the future agreement between the Executive Secretariat and the Belarusian government would, among other things, make provisions for the construction of a CIS complex in Minsk.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Jan

LD1901075594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0710 GMT 19 Jan 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, January 19 (TASS)—The examination of reasons for the resignation of First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar and the situation on Russia's money markets are principal topics in today's Russian newspapers.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent, who analyses reasons for Gaydar's resignation, believes that the resignation itself speaks volumes. It is now a question of "two basically different tactics of reformers. The first one is to remain in the government and fulfil their promises: to secure a 5-7 percent inflation rate by the end of the year, financial stabilisation, a favourable investment climate, a slowdown in production downturn, and a gradual rise in production on a basis not connected with an additional emission of money."

"The reformers lack confidence that they will manage to implement this programme. Naturally, they have no desire to share responsibility with inflationists for economic failures. It means that it is essential to quit the government—hence the second tactic of reformers."

TRUD is of the opinion that "although the government composition remains unknown so far, the reform-minded wing is rapidly dwindling. The newspaper corroborates this thought by maintaining that "government executives, apparently, increasingly incline towards cooperation with the Agrarian Party's parliamentary group who support Aleksandr Zaveryukha, and with the industrial chiefs.

"At any rate, Oleg Soskovets on Tuesday attended a meeting with regional industrialists who were summoned by Arkady Volsky, while Viktor Chernomyrdin gave preference to Aleksandr Zaveryukha and Viktor Gerashchenko over Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fyodorov".

IZVESTIYA on Yegor Gaydar's resignation:

"The money market reacted with panic to the chief monetarist's resignation". "It is obvious that the present panic on the money market has been caused by a government reshuffle. The voluntary resignation of Yegor Gaydar, who personifies the policy of rigid financial stabilisation, has influenced the money market situation most of all".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the formation of the State Duma committees.

The newspaper points out that "Andrey Kozyrev states that Russia's foreign policy is a presidential one. However, following the formation of the Duma committees, this postulate is not so unambiguous. At least, four of the committees can, and are likely to, lay claim to securing that their opinion are taken into account: on security, international affairs, on CIS affairs, and on geopolitical issues. The latter committee is sure to go farther in this respect than others, if only because it is headed by Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR) representatives Viktor Ustinov and his deputy Mikhail Sidorov. The LDPR did not manifest even a hint of agreement with the Yeltsin-Kozyrev foreign policy course"

"Thus, there are all prerequisites for the shaping of a Duma-president opposition over his minister of foreign affairs on practically all foreign policy aspects".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the Federation Council:

"Battles in the upper house of parliament lie ahead". "The lack of conflicts at the beginning of the federation councils's work led parliament analysts to conclude: The federation council is fully controlled by the president.

"However, Russian senators themselves do not think so. 'The president simply had no occasion to get to know the true colours of the federation council, because the deputies themselves, primarily regional leaders, have no clear idea of their role in the upper house of parliament', a Federation Council member told the newspaper".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) on prospects for Russian-U.S. cooperation in space research.

The newspaper points out that in the middle of December last year, the two main space-faring powers determined a program for 10 U.S. space shuttle flights to the orbital complex Mir. At the same time U.S. astronauts are to work aboard the Mir station for an aggregate of about two years, "drawing on our experience in long-duration space expeditions. A date for the blast-off of a U.S space shuttle, with Russian cosmonaut Sergey Krikalev on board, has also been decided upon. The weeklong flight is scheduled for the beginning of February 1994.".

PRAVDA carries a statement by the leaders of some parties and public organisations "on the non-legitimate nature of the constitution brought up for the referendum by President Boris Yeltsin".

"The text of the constitution brought up for the referendum of December 12, 1993, revives an authoritarian system in the Russian Federation. During the holding of the referendum on the draft constitution, most flagrant breaches of the Russian Federation's 1978 constitution (with subsequent changes) and the 1990 law on referenda were committed," the statement said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, analysing the forthcoming transfer by Ukraine of all of its 2,000 nuclear weapons to Russia for subsequent dismantling and elimination, observes that "it is well known what will be the benefits of Ukraine's nuclear disarmament for the whole world. The 'nuclear club' will not expand. There will be no precedent that would enable Pakistan, India or Israel to join it. It is unclear, though, how will Russia benefit from that".

"For the sake of eliminating Ukrainian nuclear weapons, the United States assigns 60 million dollars to Russia in the form of an advance payment for its yet unsold uranium".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA frontpages an interview with Tajikistan parliament chief Emomali Rakhmanov who said: "Of course, the country is still far from complete tranquility in the political life and order in the economy. The main thing that we strove to do was to unite the people".

Press Review for 20 Jan

LD2001072094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0650 GMT 20 Jan 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, January 20 (ITAR-TASS)—Many leading newspapers continue to discuss the resignation by First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar and the aftermaths of this event. "The thin thread that connected the Chernomyrdin Government and reformers over the past months," the IZVESTIYA newspaper writes, "snapped after Viktor Chernomyrdin left the Kremlin following a six-hour tete-a-tete conversation with the president on January 18.

"The premier broke this thread, vitally important for Russia's revival, with his own hand, dismissing Gaydar as if a servant and predetermining the same lot for Boris Fedorov (eds: finance minister). Thus, the reformist wing in the government has been virtually cut off.

"The reformer president is forced to agree with the premier due to the fact that he has no right to ignore the results of the parliamentary elections. From now on, the government of reforms ceased to exist in Russia."

In an interview with the same newspaper, Gaydar said that he had only one alternative: "Either to stay, using possibilities offered by the post of first vice-premier and at the same time to serve as a cover for a policy with which he disagrees, or to achieve complete political clarity, losing the post.

"Real political space for me in the cabinet considerably shrank over the past few weeks." According to Gaydar, "our state now cannot be regarded as democratic. Bureaucracy again starts ossifying. The departure of the state with its apparatus from the people again sharply intensified".

"After Gaydar's resignation," the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper writes, "another vice-premier, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov turned to be in the political limelight. No matter who and what is said, but the country's line in the credit and monetary policy and the fight against inflation is linked (in Russia and abroad) to actions of the 'iron' finance minister.

"The appearance of a new notion in Russian political life—the joining of a government in the process of reorganisation under definite conditions—is linked with the name of Fedorov.

"These facts can be treated in different ways, but they cannot be dismissed. This means work in a federal body on conditions of a political and moral contract."

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper tries to examine reasons for a sharp fall of the rouble against the U.S. dollar. "The resignations of Gaydar and Fedorov do not exactly coincide with the start of the dollar's vigorous growth," the newspaper writes.

"However, Gaydar's resignation is nearly nothing for the artificially pent-up dollar. Fedorov is another pair of shoes. Rumours about his resignation started circulating from January 10 when the rouble nosedived."

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper features an interview with former Russian Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov who writes: "There are no clear-cut rules of game in the field of economic reforms, as before. Rules are being changed every day without agreeing them with those who directly participate in these reforms.

"There is no reasonable programme either. If we are to speak about the efficiency of moves made spontaneously, we are skidding downward all the time, spending what was created by others." Skokov says that he has no aim of becoming Russian president "at present".

The same newspaper writes in anotehr article that "a turn for the better evidently set in in relations between Moscow and Tbilisi. This is at least the opinion of Russian Ambassador to Georgia Vladimir Zemskiy.

He says in an interview with the newspaper that the sides managed to turn to a dialogue and mutual tolerance from tension and even confrontation caused by the events at first in South Ossetia and then in Abkhazia.

According to the ambassador, the improvement of relations will be crowned with a visit to Tbilisi by Russian President Boris Yeltsin scheduled for February 3-4 and the long-awaited signing of a treaty of friendship, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper carries an interview with Lieutenant-General Viktor Yesin from the Chief Staff of Russian Strategic Forces who writes: "The reached mutually acceptable understanding on non-targeting of missiles (eds: of Russia and the United States at each other) means for us that they will have 'zero' flight assignment.

"Every-day control over nuclear vehicles of delivery will be exercised, proceeding from the fact that Russia, as it is recorded in its military doctrine, does not regard any state as its enemy.

"We shall not threaten anybody, but this does not preclude in any way a possibility under a contingency to set targets in the missile control systems on orders from the Russian president who is supreme commander-in-chief."

The PRAVDA newspaper runs an article by lower house member Viktor Shevelukha who says that the reason for the decline of the Russian countryside lies "in the long-standing economic pillage of peasants and agriculture as a whole and in the exaction of nearly all added value of the Gross National Product without its return, at least partially, to agriculture".

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper features "statement by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party", "warning of a new round of 'witch-hunt', a drive against dissidents in some former Soviet republics".

"Former Soviet republics carry out anticommunist actions with surprising orchestration and consistency," the document says. "The trial of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is followed by trials of party members and leaders of its organisations."

General Cited on Missile Accord With U.S.

LD2001213694 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 20 Jan 94

[From the "Slavyanka" program]

[Text] Russia's strategic missiles, which are on combat alert, will have a zero flight task. This was how Lieutenant General (Viktor Yesin), the head of the operational department of the main headquarters of strategic missile forces, explained the essence of the Russian-U.S. agreement on the nontargeting of their strategic missiles at one another. According to him, day-to-day control of nuclear weapons will be carried on the basis that Russia has no enemies as defined by the Russian military doctrine. At the same time, the general noted that under certain circumstances on orders from the Russian president, the supreme commander of the armed forces, targets could be introduced into the missiles' control system. This system still exists and the essence of a combat alert has not changed.

Paper Urges Putting Higher Price on Space Deals

PM1901140094 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by Mikhail Rebrov: "Russia Is a Great Space Power. And Its Partners Should Remember That"]

[Text] It is 19 years since the joint flight by the Soyuz and Apollo spaceships. The project, which was known as ASTP [Apollo-Soyuz Test Project], inspired great hopes for an expansion of cooperation, but in all the years since July 1975 that process has been sluggish, unless you count individual episodic and not particularly notable upsurges. How do the cards now lie in the international game of patience, what moves can be expected from the main space powers—Russia and the United States?

Back in the fall of last year the question was hanging in the air, but by mid-December there had been developments: A program was defined, consisting of 10 flights by U.S. shuttle spaceships to our Mir complex. Over that period, U.S. astronauts are supposed to spend a total of around two years working at our space station, catching up with our experience of prolonged space expeditions. The date has also been set for the launch of a shuttle with Russian cosmonaut Sergey Krikalev on board. The week-long flight is planned for the first days of February 1994.

Cooperation has always been beneficial, especially in such a large-scale and costly matter as space exploration. This problem is common to all mankind, and must be tackled by joint efforts. But is this partnership always equal?

Partnership and the market are interrelated concepts. The international market in space technologies has been in existence for more than 15 years now, and competition here is as tough as on any other international market. The proportions are roughly like this: Western Europe's share is 60-65 percent, and that of the United States is 30-35 percent. The share of Russia, the biggest space power, is laughably small—less than half a percent. Given this correlation, a powerful lever is in the hands of the United States, and it does not want to let go of it. In a situation in which the supply of satellite launch services is 2.5 times consumer demand (disregarding Russia), it is clinging to everything so as not to get crowded out. So the ideas of partnership are pushed into the background, while by way of justification in the eyes of the world community, all kinds of stories are circulated about "Russia's technological backwardness."

But among the many different opinions there are some sober assessments, too. Experts note: "Let us be realistic: The former USSR still accounts for two-thirds of the world's launches." But the number of launches is not the point. Russia's space industry, although inferior to America's in terms of electronics, has the lead in a number of technologies. We have today's most powerful booster rocket, with a highly sophisticated first stage; we have the world's only active long-term orbital multimodular space station; we have developed a unique nuclear reactor capable of generating power in space, which is compact, relatively powerful, and reliable; we have developed plasma motors, used to change the orbits of space devices.... One could also mention other up-to-date equipment, which is potentially of value for states exploring space. Moreover, our scientists, who possess experience without equal in the world, hold in their hands a "bank of knowledge," which other countries cannot manage without. "Just as the American space research program drew so much from the experience of German scientists after World War II, so today it could gain from the Russians' participation," the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE stresses.

Let us admit that Russia has plenty of difficulties. But these are times for those who not only try to survive at all costs, but also venture forth boldly and intelligently, without losing their national pride and dignity. The Americans have problems of their own. Their Freedom orbital station project, according to experts' comments, has become like a woolen sweater, which was washed in hot water. First it began to shrink (number of cosmonauts on board, equipment, power supply, and so forth) like a comet approaching the sun. Then the idea of totally abandoning further research arose. The reason—"budget constraints." But is that the only reason?

At the latest session of the Russian-American commission for economic cooperation, important documents concerning space were discussed and signed. They deal, in particular, with the Alpha orbital station, conceived as a prestige program for the turn of the century. The construction of the vast orbital complex will take approximately five years. It is proposed to begin work in 1997 and complete it by 2001, after which the full-scale operation of the station is planned. Its life is expected to be 10-15 years.

Of course, participation in such a large-scale project is prestigious. Yes, it means access to leading technologies.

Yes, it means a sensible integration of efforts and resources. Yes, it means useful orders for many of our firms in the space sector (some 200 of our enterprises will be involved in the Alpha project, and that is 60,000-70,000 people). But is this cooperation entirely cloudless? is there not a danger of ending up back at square one, as the saying goes?

Let us look at the problem objectively, without emotion or embellishment. It is no secret that Russian standards for life-support systems for space devices (as the ASTP project showed) do not coincide with America's. The same is true of standards for a number of technical parameters, and in particular for relay satellites. The Alpha station's inclination of plane of orbit is 51.6 degrees (for Mir it is 65 degrees), and that means that it will be possible to observe only 7 percent of Russia's territory from on board.

The reality today is this: Of the heavy booster rockets available in the world, only Russia's Energiya is capable of putting the future Alpha's modules into space, and this will be far cheaper than if the mission was entrusted to shuttles. The Americans have not yet been able (or willing) to assess the merits of our Protons and Zenits. Added to that, there is the experience of Russian experts and cosmonauts in supporting prolonged space expeditions, without which the very idea of long-term stations with changing crews becomes pointless. The implementation of such a large-scale project in a relatively short time would be practically impossible without Russia's participation and the use of its space experience and industrial potential. So the present cooperation, with a $400-million advance, is not charity, but payment for our labor, and very modest payment at that. That is why further thought should be given to the advantages.

Russia's participation in the Alpha project (incidentally, the name "Sigma" would have been more apposite, as a symbol of integration) in conjunction with the Americans will require considerable expenditure. It is naive to think that we will be paid generously in hard currency for all our work. The accounting system works like this: You put such-and-such a sum into the "common purse," and you receive a proportion of the "resources." If the balance tips in one direction you are owed something, if in the other direction, you must pay to enjoy the "common asset." In general this is a perfectly sensible principle in accordance with market norms. But what are the legal and other guarantees that we will not give more than we get? Today we are prepared to hand over for next to nothing something that took years to create, that has a value. A considerable value. So let us be prudent, proud, and intelligent. And then cooperation in space will be a good thing both for us and for others.

Paper Views Aspin Resignation, Inman Withdrawal

PM2001134794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by Mikhail Pogorelyy: "Clinton's Double Loss"]

[Text] Les Aspin's term as U.S. defense secretary was to have expired today. Not a term laid down by U.S. legislation for the President's team, but the month for which the President asked the Pentagon chief to continue carrying out his duties so that the Defense Department would not be leaderless for a long time following Aspin's resignation announcement. Wishing to preserve continuity in armed forces leadership as well as the combativity of his foreign policy team, a month ago Bill Clinton picked a man who he regarded as a worthy replacement—retired Admiral Robert Inman. But a week before the U.S. Congress resumed work (after the Christmas and New Year break) Inman suddenly announced that he was turning down the post he had been offered by Clinton.

If there were primarily political reasons behind Les Aspin's resignation, caused by the secretary's disagreement with some points in the President's course in both domestic and foreign policy, then in Robert Inman's case it is all much simpler, and more complex. Simpler because the retired admiral's reasons are clear: He indicated his reluctance to tolerate the current attempts in the press to sully his reputation, and it was not inconceivable that the search for blots on his service record would continue during the Senate hearings.

The difficulty in understanding Robert Inman's decision to withdrawn from consideration for a federal government secretaryship is due to such subtle matters as moral and ethical purity and decency. That is, categories very difficult to measure—where do you find the relevant criteria? We know of many cases where senior leaders, statesmen, and government officials have continued to occupy their posts without batting an eyelid even when beset by the gravest accusations. What motivates them is their idea of duty to the people, to the voters, and so on.

In fact, Inman is weighed down by considerations of moral purity (strictly speaking, the accusations against him are not that horrendous, particularly by our Russian standards—merely the tardy payment of Social Security taxes, not even concealment of them). The admiral decided it was impossible for him to weigh—not on the scales of justice, but on the scales of public opinion!—the 30-year service record of a career in the U.S. Navy and intelligence organs against the illusory benefits of a secretaryship. Actually, he had admitted from the outset that he had accepted President Clinton's offer not out of ambition, and certainly not out of a desire for material gain. Since his retirement Inman has had a pretty good life as head of two electronics firms and then of the U.S. Federal Reserve Service Bank in Dallas. A top-class professional who worked at the top of the Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, and CIA under various administrations without any party bias, he agreed to take the Pentagon post entirely out of duty to the country and the people.

So Les Aspin has not yet left the Pentagon building on the banks of the Potomac. He will be staying there until President Clinton picks a new candidate for defense

secretary. It is hard to predict who it will be. But one can speculate about the new secretary's tasks. That is because Les Aspin, who is the first to leave the Clinton administration fold, during his spell in office managed to map out the main path of development for the U.S. armed forces over the next few years. It is hard to say to what extent this tallied with his personal views and beliefs, nonetheless the strategic guidelines determined by him are unlikely to be radically revised. Ultimately they are dictated by entirely objective factors of both international and domestic political life. First and foremost there are significant cuts in the armed forces' numerical strength and arsenal, a substantial reduction in the military budget, and, of course, against this background, the safeguarding of a high level of readiness of troops and naval forces for actions in defense of U.S. national interests and for participation in multinational peacemaking actions.

Secretary Bentsen Buys Share in Candy Factory

PM2001103794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Item from roundup of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ITAR-TASS reports under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "U.S. Minister Is Our Shareholder"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen has set a good example for businessmen who still cannot make up their minds to invest their capital in Russia. Visiting the capital's "Red October" Confectionery Factory in the framework of the U.S. President's official visit to Russia, he acquired a share in this enterprise.

Kozyrev Warns Against 'Hasty' NATO Expansion

AU1901200294 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Jan 94 p 9

["AN-PH"-attributed interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev; place and date not given: "Andrey Kozyrev Talks on Eastern Danger"]

[Text] Two trends are facing each other in today's Europe: the idea of a uniform and democratic Europe as opposed to the signs of further division. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev speaks about the goals that the emerging comprehensive European security system must focus on and how such a system can be established.

[Kozyrev] There may be too many seemingly efficient "simple" solutions. The bases for these proposals are mostly two factors that are regarded as axioms of a modern European policy. First of all, there is talk of a "security vacuum and gray zone" in Central Europe, an area that will most probably become a region of Russian expansion. It is also to be feared that "Russia will embark on a nationalist-empire policy" following the recent Russian parliamentary elections.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Should one fear the revival of Russian imperialism?

[Kozyrev] One should not fear that Russian tanks might advance toward the West, because a Russian "performance" of the Yugoslav drama is much more plausible. Such a development would have dire consequences, such as several million refugees, large-scale industrial catastrophes, and the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

[PESTI HIRLAP] In this case, what could NATO do to defend its Eastern European partners?

[Kozyrev] A few Chernobyl-type catastrophes could destroy all Europe, and the advanced positions could not save anyone. This worst-case scenario could be caused precisely by a hasty expansion of NATO, because this would strengthen the "threat concept" of the Russian extremists. The strategy of "counting on the worst" is also dangerous because it involves the possibility of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The fears of an "Eastern danger" could be mostly dissipated if the European countries set up partnership relations with a democratic Russia that is building a constitutional state and a market economy. Russia has no territorial claims on any country in the world, and its military doctrine is clearly defensive.

[PESTI HIRLAP] What is your opinion about the recent parliamentary elections?

[Kozyrev] Fascism has no grounds in Russia. The voters did not vote in favor of a "Western campaign" or the forced revival of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. They voted against the personal ambitions and stubbornness of some reform politicians and against misery and crime.

Several factors must be taken into consideration in establishing a new Europe. The so-called shock diplomacy and the policy of accepting events that have occurred should be excluded from the political methods. Russia is in favor of broad consultations among interested parties. Russia does not have the right to tell NATO which country it should accept; at the same time, however, Russia is justified in demanding that NATO take into consideration the particularities of the naturally extended interim period and, in the long term, it confirms the basic principles in its documents, principles according to which NATO is an open organization that offers free access to every democratic country in Europe. There can be no "first- and second-class security," or "special influence zones." Nor can be "isolated regions" or any "cordon sanitaire."

Paper: NATO Fails To Find New 'Raison d'Etre'

PM2001140994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Observer Manki Ponomarev "Opinion" article: "Did the Brussels Session Justify Expectations?"]

[Text] More than a week has passed since the extraordinary NATO Council session held at the level of the heads

of state and government of the countries of this military-political bloc ended in Brussels. The stir in the mass media has abated, the drumrolls and fanfares have died away, and the ink has dried on the hurried commentaries hot on the heels of the event. The time for in-depth analysis of the positions of the session participants and the decisions adopted there is approaching. It is already possible to try to give a more or less detailed reply to the question: Did the NATO summit justify the expectations, which had become widespread long before it began?

These expectations were associated, above all, with the question of whether the North Atlantic alliance would manage to find its place in a world where there is no longer room for "cold war" and confrontation between the two systems. This was how not only political observers but also the very statesmen of the member countries defined the session's task. To chart the correct course in a rapidly changing world and to specify the bloc's political guidelines—this was the chief purpose for which the top-level meeting was convened.

This was the chief task. But by no means the only one. The United States—and President Clinton spoke frankly of this—sought to strengthen its political leadership within NATO and in European affairs on a new basis while not tying itself down with overly onerous military obligations. The West European members of the alliance in turn set a dual goal—to expand their own role within the bloc's framework and at the same time to prevent the weakening of Washington's military presence on the European continent, which was becoming increasingly noticeable.

Central and East European countries, which were members of the Warsaw Pact, and also some others—Albania, Macedonia, and Lithuania, for example—took a special interest in the Brussels session. They were pinning their expectations on the fact that the NATO leadership had to decide the question of their admission to membership of the North Atlantic alliance and provide them with appropriate security guarantees.

Russia also expressed its position repeatedly. It was resolutely opposed to expanding NATO to include East European states. Not only because this would result in the bloc's military infrastructure being moved up toward Russia's borders—which would require us to take serious and costly measures in the defense sphere. The point is also that the admission of some countries to the alliance would automatically mean the nonadmission of others. This would lead to a new split in Europe, form a deep ditch on the body of the continent—much further to the east than the "iron curtain" of the "cold war" times—and undermine the European security system, which is still fragile and has not yet become finally established.

Did the Brussels session succeed in resolving these, at times, mutually exclusive tasks? Probably the most laconic answer to this question was found by a Greek newspaper, which gave an article on the results of the NATO Council session the headline: "Yes, But...."

Yes, Bill Clinton was without a doubt the dominant figure at the Brussels summit. The dynamic U.S. President did a great deal to restore and strengthen U.S. leadership of the bloc allies. But experienced European politicians—French, Dutch, Belgian—with the support of other partners in the EC and the Western European Union, found their own countergambit. They forced the session participants to devote great attention to the Bosnian problem, which had not been on the agenda before, by raising the question of making air strikes against Serbian positions in the Sarajevo region. This additional item on the agenda loomed large in the discussion and to a certain extent put Washington in an ambiguous position. Whereas last summer the Americans were insisting on such bombing raids in the knowledge, however, that the Europeans would not countenance this, they have now been forced to agree in principle to punitive actions against the Serbs, but with an important proviso—only on a mandate from the United Nations, not NATO.

At the same time the United States secured the unanimous approval of all the North Atlantic alliance members for its initiative—the "Partnership for Peace." Elaborated in Washington, it is aimed at resolving several tasks at once. Above all, gaining time and preventing the weakening of the North Atlantic bloc as a tool of U.S. policy. In addition, preventing the admission of East European countries to NATO by offering them closer military-political cooperation instead—a kind of probationary period with no definite time limits.

True, far from everything is clear yet with regard to the actual idea of the "Partnership for Peace" program and the ways to implement it, including, let us say, for Russia, which is also being offered a part in it. For a number of conditions are stipulated for involvement in it—such as, for example, greater openness in military organizational development and in the military budget, the establishment of civilian control over the armed forces, participation in peacemaking actions implemented under NATO auspices, and others. A careful study of all this still has to be made. The NATO program is being studied attentively at various levels, including, as far as I know, in both the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense and the Russian Armed Forces General Staff.

At the same time the NATO Council's adoption of the "Partnership for Peace" program came as a considerable shock to the Central and East European states. Putting a brave face on a sorry business, they welcomed this program with greater or lesser enthusiasm and declared that they were ready to participate in it. This was their official line. But at the same time President Lech Walesa of Poland, for example, did not even deem it necessary to hide his disappointment and rated both the program and the fact of its adoption as blackmail and as affording Moscow the right to "veto" decisions of the North

Atlantic alliance. This disappointment is primarily associated with the fact that East European countries regarded entry to NATO as recognition of their affiliation with (West) Europe and as an opportunity to join the European Union [EU] and be involved in economic integration in the EU.

That this really is so is evidenced by the fact that on the eve of the session Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, and Bratislava were not even able to give clear expression to which alliance they would like to join—NATO's military organization with multinational troops on Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and Slovak territories and with U.S. nuclear weapons, or a vague alliance granting certain guarantees but demanding practically nothing in exchange. Little consolation was provided by the claim made in Brussels that if any East European country, not a NATO member, is attacked in the future by some "expansionist" power, then the bloc "will almost certainly intervene."

When assessing the results of the extraordinary NATO Council session in Brussels as a whole, it has to be stated that, despite all their importance, they did not entirely justify the hopes pinned on it. The session's decisions were not crucial for NATO. The search for its place and role in the postconfrontational world is proceeding with all too much difficulty and too slowly.

On the eve of the Brussels summit the Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT cited the words of the famous English military leader, the Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo: "Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won." This is what has happened to NATO. Having achieved the aim proclaimed back in 1949, it has exhausted itself in its old form. Now the North Atlantic alliance is seeking a new purpose, a new raison d'etre.

Brussels showed once again—yes, it really is seeking. But it has not yet found it. Maybe it should not even search?

Officials Urge Removing Nuclear Arms From Ukraine

LD2001190394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 20 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] Nuclear arms should be removed from Ukraine to Russia within two years, beginning with January 1, 1994. The protocol signed last September in Massandra provides for this, a high-ranking Russian diplomat told Interfax in comments on the statement made by Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister, Boris Tarasyuk, at a news conference in Kiev on Wednesday [19 January].

As Interfax already reported, Tarasyuk quoted high-ranking Russian military officials as saying that nuclear weapons can be removed from Ukraine within a year. But it is technically impossible to carry out this withdrawal so quickly, he said. Besides, Tarasyuk stressed, this would conflict with the understanding reached between the Russian, Ukrainian and American presidents on the need to withdraw the weapons and pay compensation for them simultaneously.

In connection with this, the diplomat pointed out that to remove all weapons within a year is out of the question. At the time, when the Russian and Ukrainian presidents met in Massandra Russian experts declared that Russia has sufficient technical opportunities for taking nuclear arms out of Ukraine within two years, he noted. "Our attitude to this issue remains unchanged," he said.

With reference to the issue of compensation, the diplomat pointed out that the documents relating to the meeting between the Russian, Ukrainian and American presidents in Moscow state that the removal of nuclear weapons must begin at once. Solution to the issue of compensation to Ukraine will be delayed until this May, when experts from the three countries will meet to discuss criteria for assessing the value of the weapons in question. "The principle of simultaneousness was not mentioned," the diplomat said.

According to him, the stand taken by Ukraine's parliament, which will discuss this issue in the near future, may also turn into a problem in the materialization of the Russian-Ukrainian-American agreement on nuclear arms.

The diplomat also disagrees with Tarasyuk's opinion to the effect that Russia allowed too many nuclear warheads to be concentrated at the places of their storage in Ukraine. According to Tarasyuk, this led to the current situation which is an accident waiting to happen. In this connection the Russian diplomat pointed out that "Kiev seems to have forgotten that it took the nuclear weapons under its own control administratively, and prevented Russian specialists from coming near it for a long time. No wonder the consequences are what they are," the Russian Foreign Ministry official stressed.

A spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, Grigoriy Karasin, confirmed that Moscow will grant Ukraine heat-producing elements for the needs of nuclear power plants in compensation for the nuclear warheads withdrawn from there. Speaking at Thursday's briefing in Moscow, he added that America's purchase of part of the uranium obtained as a result of dismantling nuclear arms will be conducive to resolving financial problems emerging in this connection.

The process of Ukraine's nuclear disarmament has become irreversible. This inspires Russia and the world community as a whole with optimism, Russia's Ambassador to Ukraine, Leonid Smolyakov, said at Thursday's briefing in Moscow.

According to him, the circumstance that "new people, who want to work constructively and who understand the situation in the right way," have joined Ukraine's Defense Ministry also gives rise to optimism. He meant the recently appointed defense minister, Vitaliy

Radetskyy, in the first place, the ambassador said. "This subjective factor will undoubtedly be conducive to resolving objective problems in the nuclear disarmament area," he said.

With reference to the Crimean problem in Russian-Ukrainian relations, Smolyakov pointed out that "the issues connected with the structure of the Ukrainian state are Ukraine's internal affair." "We may have personal attachments and even nostalgic sentiments toward Crimea, but in our policy we must proceed from realities," the ambassador noted.

According to him, "the country's leadership has already begun to understand that Russia's policy towards the former Soviet republics should be given foremost importance, even though there are several unresolved problems, primarily those connected with financing Russian diplomatic missions in CIS countries."

Yeltsin Sends Kravchuk 'Harsh' Letter

MK2101083094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 1

[Boris Glebov report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Yeltsin Writes Letter to Kravchuk"]

[Text] On 11 January, Russian President B. Yeltsin forwarded to Ukraine President L. Kravchuk a message of a personal nature. It says that the assassination of Black Sea Fleet press center chief Lazebnikov has been received negatively by the Russian leadership. This has been reported by a confidential source from President Kravchuk's entourage, who stressed that the letter proposes in a rather harsh form to impose order in Sevastopol by joint efforts, and to decide finally the fate of the Black Sea Fleet in light of the Massandra understandings. The letter was sent bypassing the diplomatic channels of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Navy Concerned Over Ukraine's Action on Fleet

MK1901120094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jan 94 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report in the "Crimea" column: "The Situation Around the Black Sea Fleet Is Heating Up. Yet Commanders May Come to Agreement"]

[Excerpts] Recently Black Sea Fleet servicemen have often been showing their concern over the failure to resolve the Black Sea Fleet issue. [passage omitted]

In light of this the Black Sea Fleet Press Center has been authorized to make it known to personnel that documents have been submitted to the command indicating that the Russian Navy leadership shares the Black Sea Fleet servicemen's concern over the dragging out of the talks on the fleet's fate. The Russian Federation Navy Command has sent a telegram to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry pointing to the impermissibility of unilateral actions with respect to the Black Sea Fleet.

"The Russian Federation Navy Command is doing everything possible to ensure the implementation of the Massandra agreements whereby the Black Sea Fleet with its infrastructure is to pass under Russia's jurisdiction," the press center's release stresses.

Attention in being drawn to the fact that the Russian president has sent a letter to the Ukrainian president suggesting that a detailed investigation be held into the circumstances surrounding the death of Captain 1st Rank Andrey Lazebnikov, head of the Black Sea Fleet press center, and expressing concern over the deterioration of the crime situation in Sevastopol.

On 17 January a telephone conversation took place between Black Sea Fleet Acting Commander Vice Admiral Vitaliy Larionov (Black Sea Fleet commander Admiral Eduard Baltin is currently on vacation) and Vladimir Beskaravaynyy, commander of the Ukrainian Navy. The sides discussed the current state of relations between the two fleets, recognizing the impermissibility of unilateral actions prior to top- level decisions on the Black Sea Fleet being made.

Foreign Ministry Official Karasin Holds Briefing

Kiev To Be Compensated for Nuclear Charges

LD2001165094 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Grigoriy Karasin, Russian Foreign Ministry's official representative, has confirmed that Moscow will provide Ukraine with fuel elements for the needs of atomic power engineering as a compensation for the nuclear charges that are being withdrawn. Speaking at a briefing in Moscow he added that the purchase by the United States of a part of the uranium released during the dismantling of nuclear weapons would contribute to solving the financial issues that emerge in this context.

Advises Assessing Text of Kozyrev Speech

LD2001120994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin said it is impossible for foreign officials to react to the statements of the Russian foreign minister without even seeing the full text of his speech.

"The Russian foreign minister has given a detailed enough characteristic of the inadequate reaction of official representatives of foreign states, including the United States and the Baltics to his speech on January 18. It is hard to add anything to it, however, a logical question appears: How such hasty statements can be made even before their authors get acquainted with the

full text of the minister's speech, how does this get into the framework of normal and generally-accepted norms of political communication", he told TASS on Thursday.

"Reporters of ITAR-TASS and other news agencies have wired only separate quotes taken out of the context and it is not their fault that such a sharp response followed. All these moments were rather fully characterised by the foreign minister on January 19. He expressed concern that someone has not got rid yet of the image of an enemy in the face of Russia or tries to restore it. In any case this unfortunate incident should be a good lesson", Karasin said.

Before Kozyrev's speech on Wednesday Karasin told INTERFAX news agency that TASS had misconstrued Kozyrev's comments.

Reaction to Speech Causes 'Indignation'

LD2001135494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1252 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—"Incomprehension and indignation" has been provoked in Moscow by the official reaction in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and a number of other countries to the statements of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev at the conference of Russian ambassadors to CIS and Baltic countries on 18 January, reaction which was based on a distorted interpretation of the minister's words. This was stated today at a briefing by Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He stressed that "without waiting for explanations about what the minister of foreign affairs was really saying, or at least for the full text of his speech, representatives of the U.S. Department of State and some Baltic states deemed it possible to make hasty and unfounded statements."

One gets the impression, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, that "instead of concentrating on the continuation of constructive work to finalize the agreements and treaties that are now the subject of negotiation, our Baltic partners have lifted individual quotations out of context in order to attract world attention yet again and to try and gain certain political dividends from this." According to Karasin, "another aim of this maneuver is to whip up an artificial hullabaloo and avoid making decisions on how the rights of the Russian-speaking communities in Latvia and Estonia can be properly safeguarded."

"In our view, the West should also be concentrating attention on these problems rather than criticizing a Russian minister in the way that an official spokesman for the U.S. State Department allowed himself to do," Karasin declared.

According to the Russian representative, the heart of the matter was "explained at length by the Russian foreign minister during yesterday's television address, and then again in the closing stage of the conference. "We do not see any need for additional clarifications," Karasin concluded.

Yugoslav-Croatian Agreement Welcomed

LD2101045894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0027 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Russia welcomes the agreement reached between Yugoslavia and Croatia to start normalizing ties as a constructive element in the efforts aimed at breaking the deadlock in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said on Thursday.

The spokesman, Grigoriy Karasin, told reporters that the declaration could not only help stabilize Serb-Croat relations, but also have a positive effect on resolving the problem of Krajina (the state created by Serbs within the boundaries of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia).

The foreign ministers of Yugoslavia and Croatia, Vladislav Jovanovic and Mate Granic, signed in Geneva on Wednesday a statement on the normalization of mutual relations and opening of representative offices in Belgrade and Zagreb on February 15.

Belgrade said on Thursday the statement did not imply mutual recognition and establishment of diplomatic ties between the two states and did not prejudge a solution to the problem existing between Croatia and the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina.

Churkin 'Disappointed' With Geneva Talks on Bosnia

LD2001085894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2049 GMT 19 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva, 19 Jan—"I am very disappointed. Once again, as during the previous round in Geneva and Brussels, a great opportunity to reach agreement has been wasted." This is how Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special representative and deputy minister of foreign affairs, assessed the outcome of the talks on a Bosnian settlement which ended here today, and which were attended by the delegations of the conflicting sides—the Muslims, Serbians, and Croatians—and the presidents of Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro. Although co-chairmen Turvala Stoltenberg and David Owen proposed solutions and approaches which could be "satisfactory in order to stop the war," no compromise was achieved, the Russian diplomat noted, speaking to journalists in Geneva's Palais des Nations.

V. Churkin, who met the representatives of the various sides during his stay in Geneva, describes the agreement

signed today between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia on the opening of official missions in Belgrade and Zagreb as "an important step in their relations." It may lead to the emergence of "a more positive atmosphere for solving major issues," in particular the problem of Krajina.

Paper Advises Against Monetary Union With Belarus

PM2001142794 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 1

[Yevgeniy Anisimov article: "Ruble: All Right, Zayats!..."]

[Text] We are an incorrigible people—our life is flat and disagreeable unless we are peering into the abyss. We just seemed to have begun to crawl away from the precipice of hyperinflation, we just seemed to have grasped the anchor of a stable ruble rate and told manufacturing enterprises: Sort out production or lower prices.... But there is no holding us. We decided on the union of the Belarusian and Russian monetary systems. So that we can fall into the abyss together—falling is not so boring.

Over the past six months Belarus has suffered the total collapse of its economic policy. The national currency, the zaychik [little hare—Belarusian currency carries symbol of a hare], has been devalued at a rate comparable only to that of the karbovanets. It is not surprising: Ukraine and Belarus both did nothing to reform the economy, traditionally counting on getting themselves out of a fix at Russia's expense. Whereas previously the standard of living in these republics was higher than in Russia, once Moscow introduced its own national currency and once the credit-money umbilical cord was severed, the situation changed before our eyes. The hunt was on for rubles at a time when everything but the economy was prospering in the fraternal republics. I have a friend, a so-called black marketeer at the Minsk Refrigerator Plant; he described how the trade in these very popular refrigerators is being "privatized" there: The ministry takes a fair amount of the plant's output and then sells it for a song (but for rubles!) to my "black marketeer," the latter smuggles the goods into Russia and has a good life. Everyone has a good life apart from the Belarusians themselves, who don't have refrigerators or rubles, and now their zaytsy [hares—national currency] have fallen in value.

Why? What is the underlying reason for monetary union and, what is more, on such preferential terms for Belarus? After all, the plan is to exchange rubles for zaytsy at a rate of 1:1, although only a complete idiot would get less than 5 zaytsy per ruble on the market. As far as Russia is concerned, this means an instant rise in all prices of at least 10 percent. For what will we be paying?

The Central Bank of Russia led by Mr. V. Gerashchenko is behind the great idea of union. Having temporarily piped down over the past few turbulent months, Mr. Gerashchenko has once again made a brilliant display of his political skill. He prepared documents on the quiet and contrived to get them past Gaydar and Fedorov, past everyone concerned about the future of reform. And they, according to the plan, were to have made fools of themselves, whipping boys responsible for the upsurge in inflation which is absolutely inevitable in this situation. Naturally the fathers of Russian reform refused to don the dunce's cap. No, let the person accustomed to acting behind people's backs and dealing calculated blows on the quiet—Mr. Gerashchenko—try the cap on for size.

There are no sensible arguments in favor of union. There has been some talk there [in Belarus] about aid—but who will aid us? Politicians have gone quite crazy if they are sacrificing the economy and the prosperity of their fellow citizens for the sake of a free handout to people who have no very great need thereof. Does Belarus have no money? Does it have no means of paying for energy resources? Does it have property? Well then, hand over blocks of shares in enterprises to settle its debts. Russian enterprises undoubtedly need the Belarusian market. But why pay for this with hyperinflation?

Russian reformers were performing a single task in disengaging the monetary systems, that of putting a stop to the endless provision of subsidies for the former union republics. That was achieved in the middle of last year. Is it all starting up afresh now? Why then the need for the absurd exchange of cash that caused the whole country to wait in line outside branches of the savings bank?

Many politicians' rosy dreams will have obviously been realized with leading economic reformers' departure from the government. The national leaders of the former union republics are happy to shift the burden of responsibility for economic mistakes onto Russia, while however retaining all the other attributes of a sovereign power.

Belarus Aide on Ruble Zone, Economic Partnership

PM2001142594 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 1

[Vasiliy Ustyuzhanin report: "Don't Close Window Into Europe"]

[Text] It proved absolutely impossible to get hold of any Belarusian Supreme Soviet leader. They were all attending a session. Only the telephone of Aleksandr Sheleg, aide to the first deputy chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet, was answered: "Our Prime Minister Kebich has long upheld the idea of a sound economic partnership. And his initiative for the republic to enter into a single ruble zone with Russia is consistent in this respect. After the breakup of the USSR Belarus effectively remains the sole window into Europe for Russia: The main air, railroad, and automobile routes and pipelines pass through it. We would not be a burden. Our flagships—the tractor, automobile, and other plants—are effectively standing idle now. And the same

thing is happening in Russia. I am convinced that, if a decision were adopted—and that is what our industrialists are waiting for—things would return to life here. And I think Yeltsin realizes this."

It has become known that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will come to Minsk in the next few days. His visit may herald a definitive decision in favor of unifying the two republics' financial systems.

Kozyrev, Armenia's Papazyan Discuss Cease-Fire

LD2001131594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1306 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Armenian counterpart Vagan Papazyan discussed today at the Russian Foreign Ministry issues dealing with the early ceasefire and the termination of hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, as well as the prevention of incidents on the border between the Azeri Republic and the Republic of Armenia. The foreign ministers were unanimous in their opinion that the conflict, started many years ago, cannot be resolved through the use of force and should be settled as soon as possible with the mediation of the Russian Federation by political means, by means of talks.

Russia, as a mediator, is seeking to bring the stands of both participants in the conflict closer together and to persuade them to sign immediately a ceasefire agreement, Galina Sidorova, political adviser to the Russian foreign minister, told ITAR-TASS after the end of the meeting. The talks are rather complicated, because the conflict is a long one, many problems have been accumulated in relations between the two sides, and they feel mistrust for each other, Sidorova said. Russia is doing its utmost for the agreement on the end of armed confrontation and prevention of destabilisation of the situation in the whole region to be signed as soon as possible, she stressed. According to Sidorova, "now it is difficult to say when the two sides will sit down at the negotiating table, to what extent a possibility of holding meeting by them has become more real. There is a draft agreement, and now it is necessary to bring the stands of the two sides closer together," she said.

Kozyrev discussed settlement problems also with Arkadiy Gukasyan, spokesman for the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership.

Last Tuesday the Russian foreign minister had a meeting with Azeri Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov within the framework of a programme of working consultations.

Officials on Talks

LD2001173594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] It is hard to say how great the chances are for conducting a meeting between the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan in Moscow in the near future, the political adviser to Russia's foreign minister, Galina Sidorova, said in answer to Interfax's question on Thursday.

She made this statement after Thursday's talks between the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, and his Armenian counterpart, Vahan Papazyan. The same day Kozyrev conferred with the Foreign Minister of the self-proclaimed Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh, Arkady Gukasyan.

According to Sidorova, the main goal pursued by Moscow is to sign an agreement on a cease-fire and halting military actions in Nagorno-Karabakh. "Russia fears that the conflict may further destabilize the situation in the region," she pointed out.

"The negotiations are progressing with difficulty," Sidorova said. "Each of the warring sides has its own claims. It's a long conflict, and each side is apprehensive about taking some wrong step," she stressed.

In the meantime, as the chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department, Grigoriy Karasin, said at Thursday's briefing in Moscow, the results of the talks held by Kozyrev with Papazyan and Gukasyan, as well as with the head of Azeri diplomacy, Gasan Gasanov, two days ago "show that the warring sides' attitudes to the possibility of signing an agreement on ceasing hostilities altogether have somewhat softened."

Russia Agrees to Prolong Sanctions Against Iraq

LD2001125994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1251 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Dmitriy Chubarov]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russia has joined the decision of the UN Security Council to prolong sanctions against Iraq for 60 days, but said oil embargo against it can be lifted in case the latter fully complies with disarmament demands of UN resolutions.

The Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Thursday that "certain positive shifts have been registered in Iraqi approach to fulfilment of decisions of the UN Security Council. This mostly concerns disarmament aspects which is acknowledged by the world community and was reflected in the latest document of the special commission on Iraqi disarmament".

Russia actively supports the idea of establishing a deadline for Iraq before which the efficiency of the system of control can be proved, as well as the honesty of Iraqis in fulfilling their pledges.

"In case after the deadline expires, and it should not last for more than six months, it is confirmed that Iraq honestly and fully implements the disarmament aspects of the Security Council resolutions 687 and 715, Russia

will be ready to consider the issue of lifting the oil embargo according to item 22 of resolution 687", the document said.

Russia resolutely and invariably stands for the fulfilment by Iraq of all other resolutions of the Security Council on the post-crisis settlemenmt in the Persian Gulf, including the resolution 833 on the demarcation of Iraqi-Kuwaiti border. Only in this case can the issue of lifting all other sanctions imposed by Security Council against Iraq can be raised, the statement said.

The Russian position strictly corresponds to the terms and criteria fixed by decisions of the UN Security Council, it added.

Radio Reports DPRK Denies Japan Sold Apparatus

SK1901145894 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The DPRK has denied the report that Japan sold siting apparatus for ballistic missiles to the DPRK.

The Korean Central News Agency reported that the criticism of the alleged purchase of spectrum analyzers by the DPRK is aimed at slandering [umyong-ul tonjigo] the DPRK and applying outside pressure.

Last week, the Japanese authorities began to investigate a company that is suspected of selling this apparatus to the DPRK through China.

The mentioned spectrum analyzers are used in televisual [telebijon] communication.

Government To Ship Decommissioned Subs to DPRK

LD2001132794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1321 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russia will ship to North Korea several decommissioned submarines intended for scrap, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing on Thursday.

These are not military equipment deliveries, but a commercial deal, he said and explained that North Korea had bought through a Japanese company several decommissioned submarines from Russia which had been completely dismantled and cannot be restored as means of warfare.

"We view it as an ordinary trade operation. Russia concludes similar commercial deals with other countries as well", Karasin said.

Dealer: 3 Russian Subs Sold

LD2101093194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0803 GMT 21 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo January 21 TASS— A Japanese mediator of the Russian-North Korean submarine deal dispelled fears of Tokyo and Seoul saying only three Russian decommissioned submarines without armaments had been sold to Pyongyang and had been scrapped there.

Ariyoshi Sibata, president of the Japanese company "Toen Shiozi", which mediated the deal told TASS on Friday by telephone from Beijing, where he is currently staying, that his company engages in trade in scrapped metal and therefore is interested in cooperation with Russia which has huge amounts of decommissioned machinery, including military equipment.

He rejected claims of U.S. mass media that Russia and North Korea had signed a deal envisaging shipments of a whole fleet consisting of 40 submarines which Pyongyang may use for training and as spare parts for its military equipment.

In October 1993 Sibata's company brokered a deal upon a North Korean request to ship three decommissioned and dismantled diesel submarines from the Russian Pacific Fleet to Pyongyang.

Sibata said the submarines had no armaments, were heavily covered with rust and were semi-submerged. The submarines had already been delivered to North Korea where they were cut into pieces 1x1.5 metres in size to be used as scrap metal, he added.

Gromov Denies Reports of Sales

LD2101110794 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of Russia's Navy, stated at a news conference in Vladivostok that Russia has not sold any submarines to North Korea and does not intend to sell any, the RIA agency reported. He said that four old, obsolete diesel submarines, which were incapable of moving under their own power, were sold as scrap to a Japanese commercial firm. Therefore, the fuss whipped up by the Japanese and South Korean media is totally groundless.

The Navy's commander in chief added that the press published another untrue report, of unknown provenance, that the Pacific Fleet is to supply 40 submarines to the DPRK via a dummy Japanese firm. The Pacific Fleet simply does not have this many old submarines, Feliks Gromov said.

Deputy Minister Interviewed on Ties to Koreas

SK2101100994 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Interview with (Yakovlev), Russian deputy foreign minister in charge of Korean affairs, by station reporter (Krietov) on Russia's relations with the DPRK and the ROK—from the "Various Aspects of Cooperation" program; place and date not given]

[Text] (Yakovlev), Russian deputy foreign minister in charge of Korean affairs, answered questions posed by station reporter (Krietov).

[Krietov] How were Russian relations with the DPRK and the ROK in 1993?

[Yakovlev] Relations between Russia and the two Koreas were developed in various areas last year. Let us recall what Russia has inherited from the former Soviet Union.

Relations between Russia and the DPRK have been complex and painful. The ROK has treated us with a certain suspicion [ilchonghan pulsin]. Seoul did not understand how Russia would develop and how Russia's development would effect the situation on the Korean peninsula.

What did we do last year? Russia and the DPRK reassessed the grounds of relations between the two in 1993. The reassessment was made on the line of big changes in Russia, the Korean peninsula, and all over the world. We have dissolved the DPRK's misgivings that Russia would take a biased policy while adhering to the ROK's view on South-North dialogue. We are working with Pyongyang in political and economic areas and help in removing obstacles to South-North relations.

Deputy Foreign Minister Kunadze visited Pyongyang last year as a special envoy of the Russian president. During this visit, Russia and the DPRK agreed to amend treaties on and legal grounds of relations between the two countries, including the 1961 Russia-DPRK treaty, and to resume and activate contacts between the two countries' foreign ministries, including contacts in the United Nations.

In 1993, Russia and the DPRK signed a treaty on scientific and technological cooperation and a treaty on cooperation in the fishery area. They have continued mutual cooperation in the DPRK lumbering business in the Russian territories. I emphasize that this is complementary [sangho powanjok] cooperation. We will continue such cooperation based on the amended grounds.

We are generally satisfied with the development of relations between Russia and the ROK. We have developed practical [silmujok] cooperation based on the grounds of relations between the two countries. We remember that a treaty that secures a new atmosphere [sae chuserul hwakposikinun choyak], a lump-sum economic agreement, and a series of important documents, and a series of other important documents between Russia and the ROK were signed when President Yeltsin visited Seoul in November 1992.

We continued political dialogue with the new ROK administration of President Kim Yong-sam last year. Based on our mutual political understanding, we have solved even problems rooted in the past. When I say this, I have a series of problems, including the one involving the ROK airliner, which was shot down in 1983, in mind. Another series of problems, including the one involving the burial of radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan, have not yet been solved.

We highly assess ROK Foreign Minister Han Sung-chu's visit to Russia in the summer of 1993. During this visit, Russia and the ROK confirmed their mutual interest in the results of Russia-ROK relations in various fields, the same view Russia and the ROK hold on many world and business issues, and each other's willingness to cooperate in resolving those issues.

It is more important, however, that contacts of people, including sportsmen, art groups, businesses, and scholars, have become more active. This reinforced the atmosphere of mutual trust not only on the official level but also between the people of Russia and the ROK.

A schedule of cultural cooperation for 1994 has been signed. This has increased the possibility of learning the history, culture, and traditions of each other's country. Relations between scientific and educational organizations of the two countries have been promoted comprehensively, and contacts between the two countries' scientific academic organizations. Scientific and technological cooperation has also rapidly been developed. Hundreds of Russian experts and scholars are working in the ROK, and many ROK experts are in Russia.

[(Yakovlev) continues] An important aspect of relations between Russia and the ROK is economics. Regrettably, the relations had a difficult time last year due to the adverse economic situation in Russia and decreases in production in the ROK. The volume of trade of goods between the two countries amounted to $1.5 billion.

We plan to start 25 large-scale projects this year after overcoming difficulties facing economic cooperation. They include construction of an ROK industrial complex in the Nakhodka free economic zone and a gas pipeline between Russia and the ROK via the DPRK.

[Krieto] How do you assess the overall situation on the Korean peninsula?

[Yakovlev] The situation on the Korean peninsula is very complicated. Pyongyang and Seoul signed the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchange and Cooperation in February 1990. North-South talks and premiers contacts started. Regrettably, they discontinued soon because the disagreement on mutual inspections and the Washington-Seoul decision

to resume the Team Spirit military exercise. This issue is now being resolved in the course of talks between Washington and Pyongyang. We demand that the talks be concluded with success.

Russia resolutely opposes nuclear weapons proliferation in any form, and we oppose the emergence of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula. Safeguards are necessary to prevent the emergence of nuclear weapons. Safeguards will be ensured when the International Atomic Energy Agency's [IAEA] rules are adhered to strictly. We demand that all (?problems) between the DPRK and the IAEA be resolved completely without specific national circumstances being considered.

We fully support the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, signed by the DPRK and the ROK. We think this declaration will give impetus to Seoul-Pyongyang talks on denuclearization. Russia, China, the United States, Japan, and other countries concerned must promote a favorable environment for denuclearizing the Korean peninsula, alleviating tension, and promoting North-South trust.

[Krieto] What do you think of the future of relations between Russia and the ROK?

[Yakovlev] It is time Russia and the ROK start carrying out the various large-scale projects that were agreed on during President Yeltsin's visit to the ROK. We are looking forward to new summit talks in Moscow this year. We must hold the talks based on results from the implementation of the previous agreements.

We plan to develop cooperation with the DPRK, first, in the economic field. The two countries must form a joint committee on the treaties existing between them.

We must [word indistinct] an organization for regular negotiations on urgent issues on the Korean peninsula and restructure the DPRK's debt to Russia, which amounts to over 3 billion rubles at 1990 prices.

The repayment of the debt is not an issue that can be resolved in a year but must be resolved based on more efficient forms of economic cooperation. Collectivization of agriculture [words indistinct] is one of them. Experts say we can pool the potential of the DPRK, ROK, China, and Russia to develop natural resources, build social infrastructures in Russia's Far East, and develop the Tumen River estuary bordering Russia, China, and Korea.

Russia's policy toward the Korean peninsula has also focused on improving North-South relations. As President Yeltsin has said, the North and South hold the key to national reunification. An important task of Russia's policy is to help the DPRK and ROK use it.

No doubt, Russia's interests on the Korean peninsula can be promoted when Russia maintains normal good-neighbor relations with the North and South.

Political Issues

Official on Appointment of Deputy Premiers

LD1901202994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] A plenipotentiary representative of the chairman of the government of the Russian Federation, head of the press service of the government Valentin Sergeyev said that the widely used formula "governmental crisis" is far-fetched in the view of Victor Chernomyrdin. Ministries and departments which were not subject to reorganization under a recent Presidential decree function normally. The composition of the heads of these ministries was not reviewed.

As for the new appointments, first of all in the upper echelons of executive power, all the candidates have been agreed upon between Victor Chernomyrdin and Boris Yeltsin and the decree on their appointments was signed on January 18, V. Sergeyev noted.

He also reported that Victor Chernomyrdin "was very skeptical about the enthusiasm of volunteers who suggested to form a new government or who stand up for the resignation of the present cabinet. There is no need to do it," V. Sergeyev quoted the prime minister as saying, "the government exists, it works and continues the course of reforms."

When asked about who was appointed the vice premier V. Sergeyev named the First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets. Aleksandr Zaveryukha, Anatoliy Chubays and Yuriy Yarov were appointed vice premiers.

The decree of the President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin on the main appointments will be published on January 20, said V. Sergeyev.

Meanwhile Interfax has learned that the decree on the government has not yet reached the presidential office.

According to some unofficial reports Boris Fedorov may remain in the position of the finance minister, while Aleksandr Shokhin was appointed the economics minister.

Other sources from the entourage of the prime minister V. Chernomyrdin noted in their turn that the issue of B. Fedorov's presence in the reorganized government had not been settled so far.

Many Ministers To Retain Jobs; Chernomyrdin To Stay

LD1901221394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT 19 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] So Oleg Soskovets is to remain first deputy prime minister. Aleksandr Zaveryukha, who handles agriculture; Anatoliy Chubays at the State Committee for the Management of State Property; and Yuriy Yarov, who is engaged on matters relating to the social protection of the population, will also retain their posts. This information was given in a Vesti telephone interview with Valentin Sergeyev, head of the government's press service. He declined to comment on the fate of Boris Fedorov.

However, an INTERFAX correspondent has learned that Boris Fedorov is to remain as finance minister, while the former deputy prime minister Aleksandr Shokhin will be in charge of the economics ministry. This afternoon Boris Fedorov stated he is ready to remain in the government as long as the reform policy is not radically altered. In the event of the reforms continuing, he can guarantee a reduction of inflation to five per cent per month by the end of the year.

It seems too that the fate has been decided of another former deputy prime minister, Sergey Shakhray. He has been offered the post of minister of ethnic affairs and regional policy.

So far there has been no official information about the fate of the power ministers. Most likely Pavel Grachev, Viktor Yerin, and Andrey Kozyrev will remain in their posts.

The head of the government's press service also stated that the new appointments at the top levels of executive authority had been agreed on yesterday at the meeting between Viktor Chernomyrdin and Boris Yeltsin. A presidential decree had also been signed yesterday and it is due to be published tomorrow.

The new make-up of the cabinet of ministers shows that Boris Yeltsin has still decided to retain the greater part of Gaydar's government, and it can be expected that the economic reform program begun two years ago will be continued.

According to the Russian prime minister, the government has throughout the past few days continued to work normally. Those ministries that have not been subject to a reorganization are engaged on routine work.

Preparations are under way within the government apparatus for an enlarged meeting of the government, which is to be held at the start of February. Despite what certain politicians have been saying about the need for the resignation of the prime minister and his government, Viktor Chernomyrdin stated he does not intend to resign and will continue his work in this post with the government that has been formed.

There is a possibility, however, that there could be some further consultations. Yeltsin has not yet signed the decree on the new composition of the government, an EKHO MOSKVY correspondent was told an hour ago by Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on New Government Appointments

LD2001135694 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1340 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] We have just received the following urgent report from ITAR-TASS:

The Russian President Boris Yeltsin, has signed an edict on government changes. This was announced at a news conference today by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Oleg Soskovets has been appointed first deputy prime minister. Anatoliy Chubays, Aleksandr Zaveryukha, and Yuriy Yarov have been appointed deputy prime ministers.

Aleksandr Shokhin becomes minister of economics. Viktor Khlystun will be minister of agriculture and food. Sergey Shakhray is to be minister of nationalities affairs and regional policy. Boris Fedorov was asked to head the Finance Ministry, but so far he has not replied, Chernomyrdin added.

That was an ITAR-TASS report on a news conference at which Chernomyrdin announced the Russian Government reshuffle.

Further on Decree

LD2001151294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 20 January— Viktor Chernomyrdin has read out a decree by the President of Russia on immediate changes in the composition of the government which he received just before the end of today's hour-long press conference. The decree says: To appoint on the proposal of the Chairman of the government:

Oleg Soskovets as first deputy chairman of the government;
Aleksandr Zaveryukha—deputy chairman of the government;
Anatoliy Chubays—deputy chairman of the government;
Yuriy Yarov—deputy chairman of the government;
Eduard Nechayev—minister of health and the medical industry;
Viktor Khlystun—minister of agriculture and food;
Sergey Shakhray—minister for nationalities affairs and regional policy;
Sergey Shoygu—minister for civil defense, emergencies and natural disasters;
Aleksandr Shokhin—minister of economics.
Vladimir Shumeyko is to be released from the post of first deputy chairman of the government at his request in connection with his election to the post of chairman of the Federation Council.

To release Yegor Gaydar from the post of first deputy chairman of the government at his own request;

To release Boris Fedorov, Sergey Shakhray, and Aleksandr Shokhin from the posts of deputy chairman of the government in connection with the alteration in the structure of the government;

In connection with the alteration in the structure of the federal bodies of executive power, to release Vasiliy Voznyak, Vladimir Kuramin, Vladimir Mashchits, and Ivan Chernoyvanov from the posts of chairmen of state committees of the Russian Federation.

Chernomyrdin Holds News Conference

LD2001160894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1521 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—The processes of reform in Russia are irreversible—we will not turn back or retreat from the reforms—Viktor Chernomyrdin told today's news conference at the government press center, in answer to questions from journalists. He stressed that, regardless of individual political personalities, nothing will change in the implementation of economic reforms.

The prime minister recalled that the reforms in Russia continued even after 14 December 1992, when Yegor Gaydar left the government, and again after his return to the Cabinet in September 1993. They will continue irrespective of the fact that he has now left the government again, he assured his audience.

Journalists were, no doubt, most interested to hear about Boris Fedorov's future. In response to numerous questions about this, Chernomyrdin repeated that Fedorov's reply to the invitation to head the Ministry of Finance had not so far been received. He also noted that if the invitation were turned down, someone else would be found instead.

Journalists reminded the prime minister that recently Fedorov made his acceptance of the post of Minister of Finance conditional on the dismissal of Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank of Russia. In this connection, Chernomyrdin said that no conditions from anybody were accepted when the cabinet changes were made. He added that candidates for the chairmanship of the Central Bank of Russia had to be examined and endorsed by the president and parliament. For my part I see no reason, at the moment, why Gerashchenko should not keep his post, the prime minister said.

Touching on the fate of Ella Pamfilova, minister of social protection, who has submitted her resignation, Chernomyrdin said that: Her resignation has not been accepted. She is on ordinary leave at present. If she does not wish to work in the government, the question of who will head this ministry will be decided in the first 10 days of February, the head of the Cabinet said.

Speaking of the alterations in the structure of the Russian Government, Chernomyrdin stressed in particular that: They are not connected with specific individuals

but are dictated by the tasks that at present face the Cabinet of Ministers. In order to raise the efficiency of the government's work, the number of members of the government has been reduced from 93 to 29; chairmen of state committees are no longer members of the Cabinet. The number of deputy prime ministers has been reduced from nine to four.

Replying to a question about the controversy over the construction of a new building for the Russian Parliament, Chernomyrdin said that so far the government has only taken the decision to study the possibility of constructing such a building and that no one had determined that this work would cost $5 million. If both chambers of parliament come out against the construction then it will not take place. But I support the position that a specialized building for parliament is essential, he made clear.

Concerning Western assistance for Russian reforms, Chernomyrdin acknowledged that this factor could not be ignored. However, Russia must count on its own efforts above all. No assistance will provide a cardinal solution to our problems, the prime minister stated.

Boris Fedorov Confirmed as Finance Minister

LD1901230094 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2207 GMT 19 Jan 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] To start this bulletin here is some information from the Russian prime minister's press service.

After two days' lack of clarity the new skeleton of the government was announced today. So, Oleg Soskovets is first deputy prime minister and Aleksandr Zaveryukha, Anatoliy Chubays, and Yuriy Yarov are deputy prime ministers. Boris Fedorov has been confirmed as finance minister.

Declines Post of Finance Minister

LD2001173194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1721 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By Itar-Tass correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—Boris Fedorov has declined the post of Minister of Finance which had been offered to him, he said at a news conference this evening.

Gives Reasons for Refusing Post

LD2001181194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1741 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—Boris Fedorov said at a news conference this evening that he refused the post of finance minister which had been offered to him in Viktor Chernomyrdin's reorganized government.

Fedorov based his decision on the fact that his two conditions had not been met: first, that Aleksandr Zaveryukha be removed from the government, and second, that Viktor Gerashchenko be released from the post of chairman of the Central Bank of Russia.

Fedorov added that his decision was also explained by his "disagreement with the program planned by the government."

Comments on Resignation

LD2001220394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT 20 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Finance Minister Boris Fedorov announced his resignation at a news conference today. The decision had been made as far back as 18 January.

Fedorov's disagreement in principle with the new economic policy of the government which is being formed at present was the reason for his resignation. Fedorov also finds it is impossible for him to stay at his post together with chairman of the Central Bank Viktor Gerashchenko. Since the president has kept Gerashchenko, Fedorov has chosen to resign.

The ex-minister said there would be no headlong drop in the ruble exchange rate in the immediate future since the foundation of the financial policy had been laid for three months in advance. He predicted a worsening of the financial situation in April.

Fedorov said he did not know of any other policy in the conditions of market economy except monetarist, and any attempts to improve the industry by issuing money will only lead to higher inflation.

He sharply criticized the agreement between the Russian Central Bank and Belarus on the single monetary zone. He expressed the opinion that Russia would bear the burden of the decision.

Among his merits, Fedorov mentioned the ruble's relatively stable rate and an increase in the real income of the population by 10 percent in 1993.

[Begin Fedorov recording] A populist policy which, I think, will be chosen, threatens with the ruble rate reaching 12,000 by the end of the year, average inflation rates—approximately 30 percent and falling real living standards. At the same time production will still fall by about five per cent. So none of the indices will improve. But, as I already said in my New Year forecast, it is possible that the production of tanks might increase. [end recording]

Fedorov refused to name his candidate for the post of finance minister fearing that, if he named him, the latter would have not been appointed.

Paper Cites Fedorov on Resignation Decision

PM2101101794 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Jan 94 p 1

[Igor Petrov report: "Boris Fedorov: I Have No Reason To Resign As Yet"]

[Text] "I do not believe that the decision to build a parliamentary center or even the agreement on monetary union with Belarus can be sufficient grounds for my resignation," Boris Fedorov, vice premier and minister of finance, told your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent. "I will not take this step until I judge government policy in the credit and monetary sphere to have changed so much as to constitute the end of reforms."

According to Boris Fedorov, one such indicator for him might be a considerable increase in the ceiling on the issue of credit in the first quarter of 1994. "If under pressure from all manner of lobbies the government issues over 10 trillion rubles in Central Bank credit, there can be no question of any financial stabilization," the minister believes.

In Fedorov's opinion, what is now being observed on the money market is quite natural. "We are on the verge of a change of economic policy and the money market is responding appropriately to this."

Boris Fedorov does not believe that he set the prime minister "deliberately unacceptable terms" in demanding that Aleksandr Zaveryukha and Viktor Gerashchenko be removed from government. "We are talking about the country's future, about what the government's strategic course will be, and how it will affect millions of Russian citizens. I can only be accountable for that which has been entrusted to me if I have a chance of influencing it."

Yavlinskiy Says 'Nothing Has Been Altered'

LD2001223394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2017 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Renowned economist leader of the parliamentary faction "Yabloko" Grigoriy Yavlinskiy told Interfax today that "in fact, nothing has been altered, they only changed the posts," since Sergey Shakhray and Aleksandr Shokhin remained in the government.

Asked whether the new cabinet will change the course of reforms, Yavlinskiy pointed to the fact that the repetition of the words "course of reforms" had turned into a kind of prayer, "while it is impossible to talk of any course of reforms when inflation is back to 30

a month."

Leader of the Communist faction in the State Duma Gennadiy Zyuganov declined to comment on the decree on the government reshuffles. In an interview with Interfax, he pointed out that it was not the personal composition of the government that should be commented on, but rather its program of economic reforms which the deputies still did not know.

Zyuganov stressed that he insisted that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin should make a report in the parliament on his vision of the economic situation in the country and ways to surmount the crisis.

"Only after we see not only the actual composition of the government, but also hear its program, will it be possible to decide whether we support it or not," Zyuganov said.

So far, the government has been pursuing "the so-called Gaydar line which has gone complete bankrupt." Zyuganov pointed out that if the reshuffled government continued this line, "the economy would collapse in three or four months, and I have no doubts that it will be fraught with the most serious social turmoils."

Filippov Says Yeltsin Formed 'Compromise' Government

LD2101111794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 21 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Amara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin could not form a government at his own will, according to Petr Filippov, the head of the analytical centre of the presidential administration.

"Boris Yeltsin has to keep balance between various forces", he told TASS on Friday evidently meaning that the current government composition was a compromise of the president.

An adequate substitution for Boris Fedorov, who had resigned as the finance minister, may be his first deputy Sergey Dubinin, Filippov said.

Noted economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy would hardly be invited to fill in the remaining vacant post of the first deputy prime minister, he added.

"I think that Viktor Chernomyrdin will try to keep Oleg Soskovets as his only first deputy", Filippov said and added that he personally does not believe in Yavlinskiy's ability to reform the economy.

"I do not believe in the possibility of reforming economy on the basis of speculative schemes like the '500 days' programme", he explained referring to the programme which Yavlinskiy had offered yet to former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, but which was turned down.

New Government Holds First Meeting 21 Jan

LD2101095394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0933 GMT 21 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is chairing the first meeting of the new government which began Friday [21 January] in the government building known as the Russian "White House" which used to belong to former legislature.

Journalists were not alowed to the meeting.

Chernomyrdin Gains 'Political Weight' Amid 'Crisis'

LD1901192794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1803 GMT 19 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—A month after the adoption of the new constitution in December 1993 Russia is facing a new crisis.

The resignation of First Vice-Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and the protracted formation of a new government signify not only a new crisis of power but an entirely new balance of political forces around President Boris Yeltsin who remains the only guarantor of the continuation of reform in Russia. Other "guarantors" have slackened their support for the president.

Immediately after his resignation earlier this week Gaydar distanced himself from the loss-making policy of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, which, he believes, "is leading the country to a sharp financial destabilisation."

Georgiy Satarov, a senior adviser to President Yeltsin, said that Gaydar's Russia's Choice bloc "is assuming, in the eyes of the electorate, a role of the defender of the interests of citizens from galloping inflation." Experts and businessmen are unanimous in their predictions of further growth of inflation in the country. Their predictions seem to be coming true as the rouble plunged sharply against the dollar in the last two days, entering a free fall for the first time in months.

If Gaydar were concerned about the financial situation in the country, he would do everything possible to preserve the reformist wing of the government, of which, according to a high-ranking source in the Kremlin, he was repeatedly but obviously unsuccessfully persuaded. Therefore one cannot rule out the possibility that by distancing himself from the government Gaydar is starting his own election campaign for the post of Russian president. Numerous interviews by Gennadiy Burbulis in the last few days in which he for the first time criticised some presidential decisions may serve as indirect proof of this version.

But so far none of Yeltsin's supporters has offered an alternative reform programme of the continuation of which the president said at his meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton in Moscow last week. This only goes to prove that what is involved is some secret goals which the Russian leaders prefer to keep to themselves for the time being, rather than key disagreements over basic approaches towards reform.

Meanwhile, Chernomyrdin is gaining more political weight in Russian politics. In August 1993, Chernomyrdin stunned the world by his statements concerning the disputed four Kuril islands claimed by Japan. The statements strongly disagreed with the president's position. Now, too, the premier is trying to steer his own course in forming a new government. He is likely to give one of the two posts of first vice-prime ministers in the new cabinet to Oleg Soskovets backed by major industrialists. The other post is likely to go to Aleksandr Zaveryukha, a member of the Agrarian Party of Russia.

Additionally, the president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, Arkadiy Volskiy, has denied in his interview with ITAR-TASS reports that he had been offered a post in the new government but had rejected the offer.

The list of candidates to the key posts in the new cabinet give grounds to speak about Chernomyrdin's orientation to people seeking to support the highly-ineffective state sector in the Russian economy. Considering the premier's reluctance to swap Minister of Finance Boris Fedorov and Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, his attitude towards continuing a tough monetary policy becomes more than obvious.

The premier's intentions will be welcomed by the agrarians, the communists and centrists in the Federal Assembly. With this in mind, one can easily foresee Chernomyrdin's intention to win support of the parliamentary majority and prepare for the 1996 presidential elections.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's spectacular ultimatums declared from television screens in which he outlines the conditions of his participation in the new government make one question if he (Yavlinskiy) himself believes in the realisability of his demands. They also show that he is unwilling to take risks and will try to remain an independent "prophet" until the new presidential elections.

The disagreements between Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and Russia's Choice and even the president also reflect the prime minister's ambitious aspirations in his bid to win over regional elites to ensure his success at the future elections.

The activity of the four aforementioned political groupings show that President Yeltsin is losing his allies who seem to have admitted his "fatigue" and started working for their own political future.

Considering the approaching presidential elections, their behaviour could look natural if it were not for the danger of a new vacuum of power from which no one is secured even by vast constitutional powers of the president. As

Yeltsin's Spokesman Vycheslav Kostimov has rightfully said, the constitution is only a "big promise," which may or may not be fulfilled.

In this situation the danger comes not so much from the threat of reform curtailment as from a new spiral of struggle for power which may seriously shake up Russia.

Chernomyrdin Denies 'Crisis'

LD2001145794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1416 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—There is no crisis in the government, it is continuing its work, and rumors of a crisis are far-fetched, Viktor Chernomyrdin, head of the Council of Ministers, said today.

Speaking at a news conference for Russian and foreign journalists, Chernomyrdin stressed that "the course of continuing and deepening reforms that was adopted in 1993 remains unchanged, and the government will not retreat from it".

The head of the government said: "Crisis phenomena are subsiding much more slowly than was expected. January of this year is being marked by an exacerbation of financial problems and a serious acceleration of inflation". At present, the average weekly increase in prices is over 4 percent, and the volume of output is only 85 percent of the December level.

The prime minister said that there would be an enlarged session of the government sometime during the first 10 days of February, at which there would be detailed discussion of "what has been successful, what has been unsuccessful, and why and what needs to be done as a priority task in 1994".

Says 'Market Romanticism' Over

LD2001142794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Nechayev]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin announced certain changes in the tactics of reforms, but denied allegations that the government will sidetrack from market transformations completely.

The changes mean a switch from purely monetarist methods pursued by Yegor Gaydar in managing economy, however the government will not focus on boosting production by any means.

"The period of market romanticism is over now, but we will not permit its substitution by a fetishism of production", the prime minister told a press conference on Thursday.

But he rejected rumours about the change of the strategic course. "I have to tell you that rumours that this Janaury the course (of reforms) is changing are incorrect. I state with all responsibility that this is not so", Chernomyrdin said.

The presidential course towards a deep transformation of the Russian society "was, is and will be". "We have everything necessary for that and the main guarantors are the president and the Constitution", he added.

But "we plan a correction in the course of reforms", he said and explained that the correction means a switch from purely monetarist instruments to other measures tested in many European countries.

These measures envisage the creation of a true competition on the Russian market and in the economy between Russian and foreign producers. This signals "big openness of the russian economy to world economy", Chernomyrdin said.

Artificial barriers on the way of foreign goods and capitals to Russia will be lifted, according to the prime minister.

The government also plans to conclude general agreements with the trade unions and producers in order to curb inflation. The package of such measures is being drafted, he said.

But the prime minister admitted that the rouble exchange rate might continue to fall. "This is an objective and inevitable process. The rate will change, we will not be able to stop it and we do not set such a task for ourselves", he said.

Comments on Economic Reform

LD2001162094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1505 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—Addressing a news conference, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has also noted that the situation with the budget is the root of all problems. "We intend to pay the most urgent debts—to settle accounts with the military, industrial, and agro-industrial complexes—and to pay salaries to budget organizations, as well as to pay for delivery of all necessary goods to the North", he said.

Chernomyrdin said that the government expects that inflation will be around 15-18 percent per month during the first six months of this year; it will be approximately 12-14 percent per month during the second six months, and it will be reduced to 8-9 percent per month by the end of this year.

At the same time, the head of the government stressed that inflation "was and will be the main problem". He said that "everything else depends on how we will solve

this problem". "The rate of inflation is going at a speed opposite to that of the reforms".

The prime minister said that efforts to stabilize finances have been undermined by two reasons: on the one hand, by the structure of the economy and the structural problems that provoke the stagnation of investment and a production slump, and on the other hand by actions of the federal bodies of power that sometimes make promises that nobody can fulfill.

As for the welfare area, Chernomyrdin said it currently needed in-depth reforms. He noted, however, that it was necessary to do it without increasing inflation and through a rational redistribution of state resources—by closing inefficient producers, stimulating private investments, and creating new, additional jobs.

Chernomyrdin thinks that the fall in the ruble's exchange rate represents an objective and an inevitable process. "For several months running, we kept the ruble's exchange rate stable," he noted. "In the meantime, the closer correlation between world and domestic prices makes it necessary to tie the exchange rate more strictly to the level of inflation".

The head of government said that the new Cabinet would most likely modify its reform policy. He said that the modification would consist in the fact that within the framework of combatting inflation "we would move from one type of measures, predominantly monetarist, to non-monetarist measures tried and tested in numerous European countries".

Chernomyrdin specified that this meant, above all, the creation of real competition in the Russian economy. "It is, in fact, a measure of the market's great openness toward the world economy—the removal of artificial restrictions on the access of foreign goods and capital to Russia", he emphasized.

Chernomyrdin confirmed that "the presidential course toward in- depth and democratic reforms of the Russian society did continue, does continue, and will continue". The president and the Constitution are the main guarantors of this, he said.

Speaks on Government-Federal Assembly Ties

LD2101120994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1126 GMT 21 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan—This year's first session of the new government was held today at Government House on Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya. Journalists were informed of this by Valentin Sergeyev, head of the Russian Federation's government press service at the end of the session, which lasted for an hour behind closed doors.

He said that questions on the organization of the work of the Cabinet of Ministers in 1994 were examined at the session. Viktor Chernomyrdin, who chaired the session, said that the government would probably now meet more frequently than it did last year, and that the Presidium would meet perhaps twice a week. The prime minister is also confident that the 20 percent reduction in the apparatus of the government and the ministries will in no way affect the quality of their work; rather it will improve its effectiveness.

Viktor Chernomyrdin focused particular attention in his speech at the session on relations between the government and the Federal Assembly. He stressed that "The government must learn to build its work with the Federation Council and the State Duma in a new way." "We must establish close, businesslike cooperation. There should be no confrontation, because we have common interests," he said.

There was also brief discussion today of the question of holding, possibly on 17 February, an extended session of the government. It is anticipated that Boris Yeltsin will take part and that the heads of the constituents of the Federation will be invited.

Viktor Chernomyrdin also drew considerable attention to the fact that a number of enterprises are lying idle. He described this situation as one of the leading questions of today, which requires a government solution. Ways and means must be sought to assist these enterprises, which must restart and bring revenue to the budget.

Valentin Sergeyev said that the question of the minister of finance was not examined at today's session.

Shakhray Prepared To Accept Post in Government

LD1901204394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, who is the leader of the Russian Unity and Accord group in the State Duma, told Interfax Wednesday afternoon that he was prepared to accept Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's offer to become the minister of nationalities and regional policy in a reorganized Russian government.

Shakhray explained: "This year is likely to see ethnic tensions and inter-regional conflicts and to become a serious test of the federation's strength. To leave the government now would be an easy solution. I think it is my duty to continue my work of maintaining Russia's unity and integrity, to prevent or at least minimize the dangerous consequences of such conflicts. What is more, I think it would not be proper for me to leave the government when its reform wing is weakened."

Shakhray said that he posed two conditions under which he would become the minister: making the ministry report directly to the prime minister and including him as minister into the government presidium. In his words, this was necessary in order to exert influence on regional

policy. Shakhray was convinced that ethnic and regional problems had to be handled by a vice premier, "whatever his name is."

Shakhray noted that members of his parliamentary group had become chairmen of State Duma regional policy, local self- government, and CIS affairs committees. He also emphasized that the group held "positions to be reckoned with" in the Federation Council, the upper house, where Ramazan Abdulatipov, a co-founder of the party, had been elected deputy chairman of the upper house.

"Conditions have been created favoring constructive cooperation of the executive and legislative branches in dealing with regional matters," Shakhray emphasized.

Accepts Post

LD2001091194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0857 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Sergey Shakray said on Thursday that he had accepted the proposal to become the minister for national and regional affairs in the new government, the position he had actually held before December 12 elections.

Shakhray, the leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord parliamentary faction, also hinted at a press conference that Aleksandr Shokhin, a member of his party, was appointed economics minister to replace Yegor Gaydar who had resigned.

"As far as I know the decree about this has not been signed yet, but this will, evidently, take place today", he said.

Shakhray and Shokhin were both deputy premiers, but most evidently will lose the status in the new composition of the government.

On Wednesday a government spokesman said that Oleg Soskovets will be the first deputy prime minister, while Aleksandr Zaveryukha, Yuriy Yarov and Anatoliy Chubais will be deputy premiers.

There are to be two first deputy premiers and three deputy premiers in the new government, according to a presidential decision.

Demands Direct Responsibility to Premier

LD2001114894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1127 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS— "I hope that nobody among new vice-premiers will be in charge of the ministry for nationalities and regional policy," Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, who was appointed nationalities minister on Thursday, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS later in the day.

If any of vice-premiers is appointed to supervise the ministry's work, he added, "I shall not be able to work as minister".

Shakhray expressed hope that his ministry will be directly subordinated to the premier.

More on Shakhray Press Conference

PM2101103394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed untitled report]

[Text] Despite the fact that the president's edict on the composition of the government has not yet been signed, S. Shakhray has already announced that he has accepted an offer to fill the post of minister for nationalities and regional policy in the new cabinet.

He made this statement at a press conference held on the morning of 20 January in the State Duma building. According to S. Shakhray, he is totally unperturbed at the reduction in his status from vice premier to "mere" minister. He sees his main task as being to ensure that the ministry he has been instructed to head works effectively. He also hinted at the possibility that the ministry will be directly subordinate to Chernomyrdin.

S. Shakhray also disclosed that, together with his party and Duma faction colleague A. Shokhin, he has been subjected to strong pressure from the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord]. The party demanded that they remain in the government. If only as ministers. The PRUA leader confirmed that A. Shokhin has agreed to become economics minister.

In this connection S. Shakhray unexpectedly sharply criticized Ye. Gaydar's departure from the government and the possible departure of B. Fedorov. In particular, he stated that the present complex situation in Russia "is in many respects their handiwork." In his opinion, difficulties within the government, which Ye. Gaydar cited as the explanation of his decision to go, are objectively inevitable and it is dishonest to quit because of them.

In answering numerous questions about the consequences of the government reshuffle, S. Shakhray expressed confidence that no political force today will now be able to abandon reforms.

Views Year of Regional Frictions

MK2001105094 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 3, 9-25 Jan 94 (signed to press 18 Jan) p 3

[Interview with Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, by Natalya Koposova: "Sergey Shakhray: I Am a Cautious Person"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Koposova] Your style in politics is sometimes taken as a challenge....

[Shakhray] I am generally a cautious, prudent person. And if I act this way, it means there is a plan. Besides, I have my own principles. I do not think politics is a dirty business. It is just necessary that moves and actions should be public, intelligible. [passage omitted]

[Koposova] Do you regret your openness?

[Shakhray] Why should I? My answer was really honest. I said: "There is a time for everything." And I cited three conditions given which one can aspire to the presidential office. First, to be trusted by people. Second, to have political structures nominate you. Third, you must have initial funds for an election campaign. They singled out only one idea: he wants to be president.

[Koposova] Some observers have gathered the impression that you are drifting away from the president. Some, on the contrary, continue to see you as the "president's permanent representative." What is the real position?

[Shakhray] I do not think either are right. I set off on an "independent voyage" on 6 May 1992.

[Koposova] But while on this "independent voyage" you remained a "president's representative" at the Congress, at the Constitutional Court's CPSU hearing....

[Shakhray] Nothing of the kind. I was no longer his representative at the Congress. The whole thing at the Constitutional Court was on a voluntary basis. I was not paid for it. I was a rank-and-file member on the Supreme Soviet Committee for legislation. The reason was that I cannot tell people no. [passage omitted]

[Koposova] How do you visualize the further federative process given the fact that not all federation components have voted for the Constitution?

[Shakhray] The Constitution was approved by citizens, not the components. Citizens approved it—the Constitution is in force in all components of the Russian Federation. Having written in stone the principle of equality of components of the Russian Federation, the Constitution incorporated the first part of the Federation Treaty, namely, the sphere of delimitation of powers in the republics. I have said more than once that the Federation cannot arise overnight—this is a complex process spread over many years....

[Koposova] Still, you expect the republics to agree with these arguments and sit back?

[Shakhray] The year 1994 will be a year of interethnic and regional frictions, and conflicts—this much is apparent to me. This process is unfortunately inevitable.

[Koposova] It is apparently in order to ease the process that you had an idea for setting up a news corporation. I realize the need. A very short time ago, the former "Ostankino" chiefs prevented you from going on the air....

[Shakhray] I was hoping that this blocking, especially on television, would end as the election campaign got under way. But this was not to be. The hushing up continues. The news corporation will comprise a newspaper, a magazine, and radio and television devoted to the same regional and national subjects. It is shameful that for more than a year and a half I have been trying to arrange for premises for the State Committee for Nationalities Policy. This problem typifies the authorities' attitude to the nationalities and regions policy in our country. Moscow, Russia's capital, is unable to provide a normal building for personal contacts between representatives of 150 peoples and representatives of 89 regions.

[Koposova] Is there any progress?

[Shakhray] There is. Two stories in one building have already been won.

[Koposova] How do you assess the resignations of your associates in the Party of Russian Unity and Accord?

[Shakhray] This sort of an attitude to the leaders of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord will lead to a position where the party in the Duma will have to take a more wary stand toward drafts from the top.

If one is to speak seriously about coalitions in parliament, we will not be subsumed in some sorts of associations, but we are ready to cooperate with the democratic groups. Despite the fact that our own people continue to slight us. Even PRAVDA writes that the votes garnered by the Party of Russian Unity and Accord are an appreciable gain for the democratic bloc, whereas our own people say that Shakhray diverted the votes. It is simply because we have a different program, and different voters.

I do not rule out the chances of interaction with Civic Union, the Democratic Party of Russia, even with the Communist Party, on a range of questions: the preserving of the Russian Federation, the consolidation of the Commonwealth in the sense of further economic and political integration, the war on crime.

[Koposova] The president has once again stated his intention to create his own party, from various democratic forces at that. What do you think about this idea? Will you take part?

[Shakhray] The party cannot consist of Russia's Choice, the Democratic Party of Russia, Yabloko, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, etc. A party is a qualitatively different association. We support the president, but this does not indicate that we are going to be a component of his party.

[Koposova] Many today are analyzing mistakes of the election campaign. Are you going to draw lessons too?

[Shakhray] By all means. But this is not all. Who said the elections have been lost? Given today's economic situation, where wages are unpaid for months, the Constitution has been passed. And the democrats in the parliament have three times as many seats as in the previous one. As for our party, we cleared the 15-percent hurdle in 70 regions. In many republics we also left behind both Zhirinovskiy and Russia's Choice.

Shokhin Accepts Post as Economics Minister

LD2001174494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin told journalists that he had met with President Boris Yeltsin Thursday and accepted the president's official offer of the position of economics minister in the new government.

Shokhin had been assured direct access to the prime minister. He will not have to report to deputy prime ministers.

Shokhin also said that Finance Minister Boris Fedorov was awaiting a reply to his conditions for staying in the government.

Shokhin, who had spoken with him on the telephone Thursday morning, believed that Fedorov could join the government if just one of his conditions, dismissal of Viktor Gerashchenko from governorship of the Central Bank, was met. Fedorov had earlier said that he would not stay in the government if Aleksandr Zaveryukha remained a deputy prime minister.

Shokhin thought that if Fedorov left the government, his duties would be taken over by one of his deputies, for example Sergey Dubinin, or former finance minister Vasiliy Barchuk.

Shokhin said that the protracted formation of a new cabinet was tantamount to a governmental crisis.

Says Market Reforms to Continue

LD2001155494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1506 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By BUSINESS-TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent today, Aleksandr Shokhin, whose appointment as Russian Federation economics minister was also announced today, stated his determination to continue the market reforms. Shokhin expressed the hope that he would have sufficient levers of power to continue the policies of market reform.

Shokhin is the fifth economics minister since Russia started its radical economic reforms in January 1992.

States Government Not Fully Reorganized

LD2001174394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1628 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] "Russia's government has not been finally reorganized yet," Deputy Premier and a leading member of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, Alekander Shokhin, told journalists on Thursday. A decision concerning Boris Fedorov's remaining in the government has not been taken yet.

Fedorov advanced a number of conditions, largely concerning individual officials, for his joining the reorganized Cabinet, Shokhin noted.

"I know that the prime minister and the president have different views as to the possibility of meeting Fedorov's conditions," Shokhin said.

Fedorov had said he would join the government if Deputy Premier Aleksander Zaveryukha, responsible for agriculture, and the Central Bank Governor Victor Gerashchenko leave the Cabinet.

According to Shokhin, the candidacy of another first deputy premier (one of these posts has already been reserved for Oleg Soskovets) is under consideration now. "This job will obviously not remain unfilled," Shokhin said.

When asked whether Fedorov is likely to become the other first deputy premier, Shokhin said, "I don't know."

Airs Views on Economics Ministry

LD2101104594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1005 GMT 21 Jan 94

[By BUSINESS-TASS correspondent Robert Serebrennikov]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—"The Economics Ministry must be among the key bodies shaping the government's strategy and determining the priorities of economic reforms," Aleksandr Shokhin told BUSINESS-TASS after his official appointment to the post of economics minister of the Russian Federation.

"I have already obtained the government's backing to my idea of slightly correcting the functions of the Economics Ministry," the minister said.

In Shokhin's opinion, the Economics Ministry should be turned into a federal body, which would analyse all the economic, social, and political aspects of the reforms, should issue recommendations to other agencies, to the government, and even to the president, should advise them on the actions that should be taken at the given juncture.

"The ministry should discharge less functions linked with the duties of the former 'State Planning Committee', that is with the distribution of resources," Shokhin

stressed. However, he noted that for the time being it would be necessary to combine both functions and to draw up proposals for the government's crediting commission.

As to relations with the International Monetary Fund, the minister said: "We would like to get from it not standard recommendations on financial stabilisation, but a programme drawn up on the basis of concrete scenarios and versions, taking into account the actual state of the Russian economy".

Gaydar Interviewed on Resignation, Plans

PM1901184194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1, 6

[Interview with former First Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar by Leonid Radzikhovskiy; place and date not given: "It Was a Purely Political Decision. Yegor Gaydar Tells Journalist Leonid Radzikhovskiy Why He Resigned"]

[Text] [Radzikhovskiy] Yegor Timurovich, what do you feel? Relief? Disappointment? Concern?

[Gaydar] You know, all those things together, everything at once. It was not a spontaneous decision, certainly not an "outburst of emotion." It was a considered political decision. At the same time I naturally had doubts until the final second.

[Radzikhovskiy] You mentioned as reasons or, to be more accurate, grounds the decision on financial union with Belarus and the decision to allocate $500 million to construct the new parliament building. Was this the final straw?

[Gaydar] No, this was not the reason nor even the grounds, it was more an example or sample of the grounds, of which a great many had accumulated. But, of course, the problem which we were discussing...

[Radzikhovskiy] Discussing where?

[Gaydar] In the bureau of the "Russia's Choice" faction in the Duma.... That problem is far more serious. In general, the alternative was this: Either I could stay on, using the opportunities provided by the post of first vice premier but at the same time increasingly serving as a screen for a policy with which I disagree, or I could ensure total political clarity at the price of losing my post. In recent weeks my real political scope within the cabinet had shrunk drastically.

[Radzikhovskiy] To what do you attribute that?

[Gaydar] Now we are coming to the most important question. Ultimately the isolated resignation of a minister or group of ministers is what is known as a "ministerial crisis" and is generally of interest only to a specific group of people—the political elite, diplomats, bankers, and so on. But in our case the situation is different. This resignation is not an episode of "infighting behind the scenes." I see it as a manifestation of very important, very serious political and, if you like, historical trends. Social strata in our country are now in a powerful state of flux. And this resignation is an outward manifestation of this flux. There is a perfectly clear logic here.

[Radzikhovskiy] Did it begin with your return to the government in September of last year?

[Gaydar] No, I would say that it all began earlier, last summer. That was when we—a group of reformers, people with a clear democratic orientation—announced the creation of the "Russia's Choice" movement. Strategically several things were clear: The authorities are experiencing an extremely grave crisis that they cannot resolve "from within," they need powerful external support and an external fillip; the ideology of reform is losing support among the people and it is not proving possible to create a really broad socioeconomic stratum of "reform people"; we are on the threshold of another "stagnation of reform" with its most dangerous features—inflation, a collapse in production, and so on. All this provides a breeding ground and forms a "culture" for real plague bacteria—for fascism in Russia. Without whipping up passions, I can say that it is now impossible to imagine anything more terrible than this. So my main aim and the aim of my colleagues throughout this time has been the same: to do everything possible to halt the process.

[Radzikhovskiy] Did you cope successfully with this task?

[Gaydar] We sought various methods of solving the problem. It was obvious that the power crisis was mounting far faster than we could build our movement. Think back: Summer and then the early fall of last year were a period of a real leap in inflation and paralysis of power. The president-Supreme Soviet parallelism reached its zenith. The authorities began simply to skid on the spot like a car, and all that the "motor" did was fuel inflation.

[Radzikhovskiy] All we were missing for total disaster was a mass fascist party....

[Gaydar] Yes, correct. Had there been such a popular party, it could easily have infiltrated itself into the gap between the president and the Supreme Soviet and could easily have steamrollered the Supreme Soviet (which was absolutely morally prepared for this) and seized power "legitimately" or otherwise.

[Radzikhovskiy] And at this moment you received an offer to join the government.

[Gaydar] I could not refuse. As you know, I was perfectly well aware of the role of "fireman for hopeless causes" that lay in store for me. I was perfectly well aware of how

difficult it would be to curb inflation—the economic mother of fascism. It was obvious that once I had done my job...

[Radzikhovskiy] "The Moor can go"?

[Gaydar] At any rate that there would be forces in the government that would want this. But at the time I thought in the following terms: Urgent measures must be taken simply to bring about an immediate improvement in the situation. Only once the political process had been somehow stabilized, a degree of controllability at least had been created in the country, and the spreading blaze of inflation had been extinguished would it be at all possible to hold elections and prepare and accumulate the forces for progress.

[Radzikhovskiy] Which elements of this plan succeeded and which did not?

[Gaydar] Everyone can plainly see the events, and everyone assesses them in their own way. In my view, it did nevertheless prove possible to smash the dyarchy, albeit at terrible cost (unfortunately it was smashed rather than rectified). One danger disappeared. The president played the main role here, of course. We, my colleagues (especially B. Fedorov) and myself, succeeded in breaking the trends in the inflationary process. On this the figures speak for themselves: In August inflation was running at 26 percent, in September 23 percent, in October 20 percent, in November 16 percent, and in December 13 percent.

[Radzikhovskiy] Fedorov said that if this trend continued, it would be possible to bring inflation down to 5 percent by March or April.

[Gaydar] Yes, I think this would have been entirely possible.

[Radzikhovskiy] How did you manage this?

[Gaydar] There is no secret here, nor any universal prescription. In September we immediately decided to halt the provision of soft loans. The mechanism is well known: Commercial banks and other structures receive huge sums from the state at low rates of interest and then either resell this money themselves at immeasurably higher rates or do something else with the "free" money and turn it to their own advantage. That is, thanks to soft loans billions and tens of billions of rubles are conjured up out of thin air, or to be more accurate out of the exchequer.

Incidentally, this does not just do economic harm. This is also an extremely powerful source of corruption (after all, these "loans" are often granted in exchange for providing similar "interest-free loans" to the functionary who has "extracted" the loans). It is also a terrible source of "commercial depravity." This is often ignored—to no avail. When money is made "out of nothing"—whether by playing the casino or "playing the exchequer"—this corrupts business itself. The "honest sweat" of business is devalued. What is the point in engaging in really difficult, tricky, and creative commercial activity (including finance) if it is all so simple? Get a soft loan and you have already achieved commercial results. There is a dangerous fusion of the financial and bureaucratic elites here.

In addition, we got import subsidies ended. These subsidies were introduced when the ruble's exchange rate against the dollar was drastically understated. At the time this was justified. But since then the exchange rate had changed sharply; the purchasing power of the dollar in our market is now dozens of times lower than it was in 1991. Yet the import subsidies remained. Here the problems were the same as with the soft loans, there was the same "radioactive source" of corruption. The same ruining of the exchequer and provoking of inflation.

[Radzikhovskiy] Are these the kind of measures that are described as "monetarism"?

[Gaydar] If this is "monetarism," then what is "common sense"? I have long since realized that you cannot carry "political water" only in an "economic sieve." The elementary sensible, self-evident measures I have listed (and there were a whole series of others) are capable of halting and changing the process. But nevertheless they will not produce a radical change. There is a need for a powerful social, political will. If this is applied, if this bolsters a sensible economic policy, you get a regrouping of fundamental political forces, and then the crisis is soluble. But if this political will is lacking...

[Radzikhovskiy] Then what happens is what is happening?

[Gaydar] But political will is not the arbitrariness of an individual person. Under a democratic system the political will of the leader and government is the product of the political process, the product of voters' political will. No matter how imperfect the mechanism of universal and equal elections may be, it is the only method for the nonviolent resolution of social contradictions. In September 1993, when I joined the government, the plan was approximately as follows: To eliminate the most acute phase of the crisis through sensible economic and political moves; then to win the elections; to acquire powerful new political impetus on the basis of the elections; and, relying on this, to begin a new, decisively important stage in the reforms. I think we succeeded in carrying out the first part of the task. But we lost the elections. And the subsequent stages are stymied. Now we must pay for this. After the elections we lost a considerable proportion of our influence in the government. The government's policy began to change: First, many people think that the most acute stage of the crisis is over....

[Radzikhovskiy] And that means there is no further need for Gaydar?

[Gaydar] And that means that I have no further unconditional moral need at any rate to remain in the government.

But there is one more element of decisive importance. Our influence has declined largely under the influence of the voters' verdict. We are that part of the cabinet which has put itself and its policy before the voters' court. Our relative failure at the elections largely predetermined our withdrawal. I would say it predetermined the rationality and expediency of our withdrawal.

And another thing. I know that there is a category of voters, perhaps not excessively versed in political subtleties, who argue more or less as follows: Yes, there is a danger of hyperinflation and of power moving toward imperial nationalism and so forth but as long as Gaydar is in the government that will not happen. I am far from exaggerating my own role, but there is that feeling among a certain part of the population. Gaydar in the government is a reassuring factor suggesting that "everything is within normal limits." So there is no longer this reassuring awareness. Let someone's brain start sounding alarm bells, that is far better than complacency.

[Radzikhovskiy] How do you explain the failure at the elections?

[Gaydar] I see the main reasons in the fact that so far we have not managed to create a powerful social class which consciously supports the reformist course. Enormous masses of people, the majority of the population, have adapted to the reforms, but they do not comprise the political aktiv of reformist policy. Enormous masses (up to 20-25 percent of the adult population, I believe) have started to live better and have been able to use the reforms, but they have not made up the political aktiv of a party of aware reformers.

It is not only a matter of the living standard. People often ascribe their successes to themselves personally (and rightly so!) and their defeats to the system, for instance excessively high taxes on medium and small entrepreneurs.

In other words: Today a new, powerful integrating political idea is needed. A political idea from the liberal and democratic camp and not Zhirinovskiy's so-called Liberal Democratic Party.

[Radzikhovskiy] What new idea are you talking about?

[Gaydar] I do not know how it should sound at the semantic level. I see its meaning approximately as follows. Economically, a stable society with low inflation and freedom and safety for economic activity. Purposeful efforts are needed to form a healthy middle class rooted in this land and proud of its country, its business, its prosperity, and its healthy Russian bourgeois nature. A bourgeois nature does after all include qualities like honesty, precision, responsibility, sobriety, and thrift. Economically we have done far from everything that is needed for that. There are means of really reducing taxes without creating enormous holes in the budget.

The new democratic idea also has another side. At present our state cannot be considered democratic. Once again the ossification of bureaucracy is taking place. Once again the alienation of the state and its apparatus from the people has been intensified. The production of new "partymobiles" and 500 million on the construction of a palace for the Duma and so forth are only the tip of the iceberg, the small visible part of this process. And people, who are in fact democratically inclined, "took their revenge" for this at the elections.

[Radzikhovskiy] They took their revenge on "Russia's Choice"?

[Gaydar] Yes. I hope they were choosing the wrong target for their vengeance. But while we were in government, while we acted as the leaders of the "democratic nomenklatura," the voters were indeed unable to understand. In reality the "democratic nomenklatura" is to a tremendous extent a myth. The nomenklatura does not need to recruit the "broad masses" of democratic politicians and even demagogues. The nomenklatura largely remains as it was before. It has drawn back very slightly and swallowed up the "best" democratic cadres, absorbed them, and returned to its initial position. "The Neva was clothed in granite."

There is an ethical and a political aspect here. If everything is clear ethically—the "stone fundament of bureaucracy" is again outweighing the head of democracy—then this does after all lead to political consequences.

[Radzikhovskiy] The alliance of bureaucracy and corrupt capital under cover of fascist demagogy?

[Gaydar] Absolutely right. That is the closed, rotten, truly "Weimar" atmosphere in which the terrible homunculi of fascism are born. If democrats today have no powerful new idea, those people always have an idea ready—the idea of national grievance, national arrogance, a national inferiority complex reaching hysterical imperial proportions.

[Radzikhovskiy] An ever-living and ever youthful idea.

[Gaydar] But how to draw a clear boundary between national dignity and national hysteria? That is the question. I believe we must be the party of Russian national dignity—the dignity of the Russian man's intelligence. A new state purge is a purge of bureaucratic arrogance, of bureaucratic cruelty and corruption, free enterprise, the opportunity for honest, dignified life and labor—that is what a Russian resurrection is. We must explain that the resurrection of hatred is the resurrection of scoundrels, adventurists, and aggressors. That is the "Russophobia" they seek everywhere except in the mirror.

[Radzikhovskiy] And you need a free hand to build such a party?

[Gaydar] Unless the democratic movement is consolidated, the slide toward fascism about which we were speaking will become reality. Palace intrigues, corruption, populism, and saber-rattling combine here. A terrible cocktail! If it is used to poison the people there will be a real catastrophe which all the horror which Russia

has experienced will pale beside. I know that this cannot be stopped either by bureaucratic methods or by purely economic edicts or by parliamentary fighting. We must use all these methods but the main thing nonetheless is a mass-based democratic movement. A party.

[Radzikhovskiy] And this party's attitude toward the president?

[Gaydar] We support the president. We must return the president's link with the people, return Yeltsin to Yeltsin, if you like. The president has been strong through his openness to the broad masses of society. That must be restored.

[Radzikhovskiy] Yegor Timurovich, but do you see yourself as a "pure" politician and as a leader and creator of a party? The squabbling, the minor and petty ambitions, the empty talk—will you withstand all this inevitable prosaic aspect of party life?

[Gaydar] We are only beginning and you are already frightening me.... As long as I have a sensible goal and understand that we are not wasting our efforts, that we are doing what I believe in, albeit slowly, albeit in zigzags, then, of course, I shall pull this cart as best I can.

Space Issues

Yeltsin Awards Honors to Mir Cosmonaut

LD1501130094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1118 GMT 15 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Vasiliy Tsibliyev has been awarded the honorary title of pilot-cosmonaut of the Russian Federation for the successful accomplishment of a space flight on board the orbital research complex Mir and for a high professionalism displayed in performance of his duties, according to a decree issued by President Boris Yeltsin.

Tsibliyev has also been awarded the title of hero of the Russian Federation for courage and heroism displayed during the flight, the decree said.

Cosmonauts' Rocky Landing Reviewed

LD1601233194

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 16 January, during the scheduled "Sunday" news feature program, carries a 3-minute report on the Russian Cosmonauts recently returned to earth.

The report opens with a shot of Russian cosmonauts Aleksandr Serebrov and Vasiliy Tsebliyev being picked up in a snow-covered field, still in their space suits, and pans to a tent in the fields, and finally to doctors checking the cosmonauts.

Correspondent Sergey Slichenko reports that news about problems with spacecraft docking came one-and-half hours before the landing of the crew. The landing was not without problems either: the crew was found about 100 kilometers off the target area.

A tent was erected in the middle of the snow-covered fields where the two men landed, and it is in this tent that they spoke to the correspondent while the doctors checked their physical condition.

Cosmonaut Serebrov, looking pale and exhausted, comments on the significance of Inca launching sites, while Cosmonaut Tsebliyev says that during the 197 days of the mission he and Serebrov did not have a single quarrel.

The correspondent then describes the technical problem the two cosmonauts encountered during their mission. He says that "the cosmonauts' last task was to photograph the docking point, where the Americans will have to dock their shuttle. The spacecraft left the space station, started circling it, and at that moment Tsebliyev and Serebrov felt a thump, and it seemed to them that they had bumped into the station.

"However, the crew of the Mir station did not feel anything and according to their reports everything was fine there. Experts at the space center are now analyzing the information to determine whether there had been an accident and whether the space station had been moved.

"However, this incident may turn out to be very useful. The Russian spacecraft is considerably lighter than the American shuttle and if the American shuttle were to bump into the space station, this could have serious consequences. Now Russian scientists have an opportunity to study such an eventuality, even thougl. they'll have to do so with a real situation, rather than a theoretical one."

Cosmonauts To Make Spacewalk To Check Space Station

LD1701161894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1601 GMT 17 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Describing an incident that took place after the undocking of the Soyuz TM-17 spaceship and the Mir space station on Friday [14 January], Aleksandr Serebrov told a news conference on Monday: "We circled the station, touched it and flew away".

Specialists confirmed that, indeed, the spaceship with Vasiliy Tsibliev and Aleksandr Serebrov aboard touched the Mir station. However, it is too early to speak about causes and consequences of the incident.

Some experts believe that the programme of the 15th main expedition (Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev and Valeriy Polyakov) which relieved Tsibliev and Serebrov at the Mir station, will be somewhat changed.

Their plan of work did not provide for space walks. However, it will be necessary to do them now.

Nevertheless, according to the cosmonauts who ended their mission on Friday, the Mir station is in good condition. Although the station launched in 1986 was to end its service life five years later, it will function normally till 1997 according to experts' estimates. Tsibliev stressed that for this purpose it is necessary to take permanently preventive measures.

The cosmonauts safely returned to the earth and, judging by their statements, feel well. Some inconvenience is only caused by muscles which did not function under zero-gravity conditions, and which are forced "to work" now.

Tsibliev and Serebrov are satisfied with the fully completed programme of the expedition. As for explorations and experiments conducted on a commercial basis, they, according to Serebrov, "are evidently profitable". True, cosmonauts do not participate in signing such contracts, he admitted.

Cosmonauts Say Mir Operating Conditions Normal

LD1801220294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1956 GMT 17 Jan 94

[Text] Cosmonauts Vassiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov did not express any doubt about the operability of the Russian orbital station Mir upon their return to the Earth. At the press-conference devoted to the results of the work at the station within the 14th main expedition they confirmed that the station maintains the normal operative conditions after a minor collision with the shell of the Soyuz TM-17 landing vehicle which happened last week.

"The information on what has happened will be analyzed by a special technical commission which will make the necessary conclusions about the possible consequences of the collision," the flight engineer of the expedition A. Serebrov told the journalists.

Assessing the general possibility of further fulfillment of complex experiments on board the station both cosmonauts said that "such an opportunity exists, including for the launching into orbit of the first functional blocks of the future station created in the framework of the Alpha project of international cooperation." In the view of A. Serebrov the only condition of the normal operation of the station is the "timely performance of prophylactics so that the resource of the equipment is always within the technical requirements."

Cosmonauts Conduct Medical Experiments

LD1801114594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] Mission Control Centre January 18 TASS—Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev and Valeriy Polyakov worked for nine days during a flight on board Mir space station.

Medical experiments held an important place in the flight programme this week. Their purpose was to study the adaptation of the human organism to orbital flight and to assess the effects of weightlessness on psychophysiological reactions and work of cosmanauts.

The ultrasonic method was used on Tuesday to determine the characteristics of the functioning of the heart and blood circulation in vessels of internal organs. During the day the physician will undergo a similar check with the use of means for the prevention of unfavourable effects of weightlessness on the human organism.

The flight proceeds according to schedule. All the three cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

Cargo Spaceship Continues Orbital Flight

LD1801124694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1132 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Tests of an automatic cargo spaceship "Progress M-17" continue. On August 11, 1993, the cargo spaceship was disconnected from the orbital complex "Mir" and since then it had been performing an independent space flight.

The parameters of the cargo spaceship, reported by the Space mission Control Centre, are as follows:

—the maximum distance from the earth - 333 kilometers;
—the minimum distance from the earth - 231 kilometers;
—the period of revolution - 90 minutes;
—inclination - 51.6 degrees

All systems on board are operating normally. Information transmitted to the earth is being processed and analysed. According to the ballistic provision department of the Space Mission Control Centre, the cargo spaceship is expected to enter thick layers of the atmosphere at the end of February - beginning of March, 1994.

Military Space Forces To Launch TV Relay Satellite

LD1901095994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0804 GMT 19 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Semyon Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—Military space forces of Russia plan to launch the first direct television relay space apparatus "Gals" from the "Baykonur" (Kazakhstan) space vehicle launching site today.

Satellite "Gals", designed at the scientific production amalgam of applied mechanics (Krasnoyarsk-26 city), is the new generation of tv relay satellites. This launch will pave the way to the creation of a new television satellite system of five similar space apparatuses.

The satellite is equipped with a three-mast onboard relay- transmitter, ensuring retransmission of regional television programmes through small dimension 90 cm. diameter individual receiving antennas. The space apparatus will be put into a near geo-stationary orbit of 90 degrees eastern longitude approximately seven hours after the blast off (scheduled for 12:53 hours Moscow time). Later it will be manouvered to a stationary position of 44 degrees eastern longitude, where it will be used for the main purpose it is meant for.

"Gals" will be the first automatic satellite to be launched by the military space forces of Russia from the Baykonur cosmodrome in 1994.

Launch Postponed

LD1901103094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1010 GMT 19 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The launch of the first "Gals" tv relay satellite of a new generation scheduled for 12.53 hours Moscow time on Wednesday was postponed for one day because of technical reasons, TASS was told at the press centre of Russian space forces which gave no further details.

The satellite was to be launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome in Kazakhstan.

TV Satellite Onboard Proton Launch

LD2001125394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1239 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The Russian space military forces launched the first TV satellite called "Gals" with a "Proton" three-stage booster-rocket from the Baykonur Cosmodrome on Thursday at 12:49, Moscow time. ITAR-TASS learnt at the press centre of the space military forces that the launching was successful.

The satellite was developed by the applied mechanics scientific and production amalgamation (Krasnoyarsk-26) under the guidance of chief designer and general manager Mikhail Reshetnev.

The launching pioneers a system of direct space TV broadcasting, which will consist of five "Gals" satellites, for all information space of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The satellite is equipped with a three-segment onboard relay which will ensure for the first time the reception of regional TV broadcasting with small-size individual antennae with a diameter 0.6-0.9 meters over individual Russian regions. The satellite weighs 2.5 tonnes and will operate for five or seven years in orbit.

The satellite will be put into orbit close to geostationary at a point 90 degrees of eastern longitude some seven hours after the launching. Following this, it will be brought to the point of "stationing" 44 degrees eastern longitude where it will be used for the assigned mission.

The "Gals" satellite is the first unmanned spacecraft blasted off by Russia this year.

More on Mir Cosmonauts' Meeting With Journalists

PM1901103994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 94 First Edition p 3

[Report by Sergey Leskov: "Cosmonauts Back From Mir Are More Concerned About the Situation in the Country Than in Cosmonautics"]

[Text] Cosmonauts Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov, who landed 14 January, spent two and a half months longer in orbit than originally planned. It was therefore natural that journalists at a meeting in Zvezdnyy Gorodok attempted to tease out all the details of how the cosmonauts feel. There was no hint of the slightest complaint, and immediately after the news conference Aleksandr Serebrov went off for another swim in the sports pool.

Incidentally, this was 50-year-old Serebrov's fourth flight already, and two of the expeditions turned out to be lengthy. He now has several world records to his credit, the most impressive being 10 space walks. One of these—when the orbital station was carefully examined from all sides during the "Panorama" scientific experiment—gave grounds for assuming that Mir will "survive" until the joint missions with the Americans in 1997.

Even this time, incidentally, Serebrov and Tsibliyev conducted experiments in growing biological crystals under a commercial order from the American firms Boeing and Payload. As a check back on Earth has shown, the crystals obtained are of a distinctly high quality. By the way, there should be no delusions about the scientific intensity of the expedition. Crews, including this one, have to spend a considerable proportion of their time on preventive work—essentially do-it-yourself jobs. Therefore, it seemed to me, Serebrov is somewhat skeptical about the idea of a fifth flight, which,

on the one hand, would enable him to become undisputed record-holder but, on the other, would be of little interest to a specialist in the current situation.

But we do have an achievement for the Guinness Book of Records. Serebrov conducted studies involving a microaccelerometer and thereby, in orbit, helped his latest terrestrial research student, Yelena Bogdanova from the "Energiya" Science-and-Production Association, in her preparation to defend her dissertation.

This flight was also unusual in that the crew's relationship with Mission Control Center was contract-based. In the event of a mistake either side would have had to repay up to 30 percent of the cost of the spoiled segment of work. Any change of program proposed by Mission Control Center required legal coordination with the crew's agents on Earth. It did not get to the point of financial penalties during this expedition, but there were a dozen instances when an official document was written at Mission Control Center to broaden the crew's functions and exempt them from any claim in the event of any kind of failure. Serebrov and Tsibliyev are unanimous that the contract system is still rough and and imperfect but that even in this form it imposes a discipline and is a great help in work.

The cosmonauts' were pretty pessimistic in their assessment of the situation in the country which they left more than six months ago, saying that nothing has changed here since Gogol's time. Gaydar's exit from the government provoked particularly gloomy thoughts among the cosmonauts.

On the way to the swimming pool I managed to get a word with Aleksandr Serebrov on a delicate matter—the recent pre-launch conflict between cosmonaut physicians Valeriy Polyakov and German Arzamazov. Serebrov noted that their relationship is a precise repetition of the theme of "Two Captains" [Dva Kapitana; 1944 Veniamin Kaverin novel paralleling the lives and conflicts of a pre-revolutionary explorer and a young Soviet airman]. The most curious thing is that just before the replacement team arrived Serebrov, without having any information from Earth, predicted a probable clash between the contenders for a record one and one-half year flight.

Incidentally, it is premature to make final judgments in this unpleasant episode. After our first item the "troublemaker" German Arzamazov contacted the editorial office. His story differs from the official version. Incidentally, Serebrov's astonishing prediction testifies that what happened cannot be described as a nervous breakdown, as it is being depicted.

International Affairs

U.S. Envoy Explains Security Guarantees

LD1901225694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2015 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, [no date as received]—At a meeting with journalists on 19 January, William Miller, the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, explained his vision of ways of implementing the security guarantees given to Ukraine by the United States. "If any state carries out an attack on Ukraine or makes territorial claims on it, the United States will appeal to international organizations such as the United Nations in order to protect Ukraine," the U.S. ambassador noted. Talks on disarmament have been tense in recent months. Their participants concentrated special attention on three issues: Guarantees of Ukraine's security, the forms and amounts of compensation for enriched uranium contained in warheads, and the rendering of technical and economic assistance for the dismantlement of nuclear weapons.

Replying to questions from journalists, William Miller stressed that of the $800 million, which the United States will be granting for implementing the program of nuclear disarmament of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine, our state will receive $175 million. The United States also pledged to give humanitarian and technical assistance to Ukraine. The ambassador reported that a Ukrainian delegation will be leaving for the United States next week, which would be engaged in issues of coordinating U.S. assistance to Ukraine. At the end of the meeting, William Miller expressed the hope that Russia and other UN member states would adhere to the charter of this organization.

Defense Chief Assesses 'Timely' Trilateral Accord

LD1901212994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy has assessed the trilateral agreement on nuclear disarmament signed by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk in Moscow on January 14 as "timely." "Ukraine has been and will be a great missile and space power regardless of the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from our territory," he told a meeting with the heads of the mass media in Kiev. "We have everything necessary to build missiles and fly into space," he added.

Speaking on his attitude to the presidential elections in Crimea, Radetskyy pointed out that as defense minister he regarded this event "normally." "But as a citizen of Ukraine, I am confident that there must be only one president in the republic," he said.

The minister also said an inspection of the Black Sea Fleet will be carried out in the near future. He said it was "costly" for both Russia and Ukraine to maintain the Black Sea Fleet.

Summing up the results of the first two years since the creation of the Ukrainian army, Radetskyy said that during this time Ukraine concluded bilateral agreements on military cooperation with 19 states. During Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev's visit to Kiev scheduled for January 20-21, such an agreement is expected to be signed with Kazakhstan, too.

According to Radetskyy, by now the Ukrainian army has been reduced by over 200,000 troops compared to last year. By the end of 1995, the republican armed forces will have 450,000 personnel.

Compensation for Uranium Viewed at Briefing

WS1801171494 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] Comments on the tripartite negotiations by the Ukrainian, American, and Russian presidents that took place on 18 January in Moscow were presented at a briefing held at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. In particular, it was noted that the tripartite declaration adopted at the negotiations is a document containing political obligations regarding moving toward nuclear disarmament. It is of crucial importance for Ukraine because since the entire rocket-launching infrastructure is stationed outside of Ukraine, nuclear weapons are not a deterring factor for our state, as well as because the rockets, whose storage expiration terms are already ending, pose a serious environmental threat to Ukraine itself. So the juggling of some Ukrainian political forces with people's patriotic feelings inflicts only damages. Responding to a question about compensating Ukraine for the value of the enriched uranium contained in warheads that are located on its territory, the briefing organizers said that it will be provided in the form of heat-emitting elements for (?Alpha). At the negotiations, Bill Clinton reiterated the U.S. pledge to allocate about $800 million for Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus to heighten safety [words indistinct] nuclear forces and storage of decomposable materials. At the initial stage, Ukraine will receive $175 million.

Foreign Ministry Official on START Ratification

LD1901173194 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Excerpts] The trilateral statement by the Ukrainian, U.S., and Russian presidents, adopted in Moscow, is Ukrainian diplomacy's great achievement. This was announced at a briefing at the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry on 18 January. Tamara Kucherenko reports the details:

[Kucherenko] [passage omitted] So what does the trilateral statement provide for? This is how Oleksandr Chalyy, head of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's agreements and law directorate, replied to a question from journalists:

[Begin Chalyy recording] This document outlined and took up political obligations in respect of (?the course) of disarmament: Ukraine will only disarm when the last missile on its territory is gone. Legally I cannot see how this process can even begin in purely technical and formal terms on the grounds of this statement alone.

The obligations in the statement are very general. If we look at the package of documents relating to START, however, the obligations there are very specific. In other words, you and we all have to understand that if START I is not ratified, the actual implementation of the nuclear disarmament of Ukraine within the framework of some general obligations and of this statement alone is impossible.

That is to say, the statement—as I understood the president's statement—means that the issue of START and the Lisbon protocol must by all means be conclusively settled at the Supreme Council. Without this, the implementation of this statement is impossible even from the standpoint that it is in need of financing. And who keeps a hold on the budget of Ukraine? It is the parliament that adopts the budget.

So this is a document on implementing the [Ukrainian Supreme Council START I ratification] resolution, and I believe that without the parliament assessing the relationship between the resolution and the statement, we will not be able to ratify START I. There is the desire of the executive power, which has taken certain steps and is proposing today to (?view this in the long term). But do these steps correspond with the general reservations in the resolution? Perhaps the parliament will now retract some reservations contained in this resolution. But this is the parliament's right. [end recording]

[Kucherenko] Another question raised by journalists at the briefing was that of compensation for the nuclear warheads removed from Ukraine. Specifically, is the payment of $175 million not too little? Oleksandr Chalyy says:

[Begin Chalyy recording] The United States will work together with Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus to increase this aid specifically allocated to nuclear disarmament. So one should not understand 170 [as heard] as the final figure. Moreover, I believe it can by no means be final. No, it is not. This is how we understand it. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Supreme Council Member Meets WEU, NATO Officials

LD2001090594 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Brussels, 19 January—Issues of European security and prospects for Ukraine's cooperation with Western military and political organizations were discussed at meetings between Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, and Willem van Eekelen, secretary general of the Western European Union [WEU]. Mr. Durdynets focused the attention of his interlocutor on the importance of guaranteeing territorial integrity and security of Ukraine as an inalienable condition of peace and stability.

Issues of Ukraine's integration into the European economic processes and the necessity of overcoming as soon as possible of Ukrainian artificial isolation from the European and world economic space were discussed at a meeting between Vasyl Durdynets and the leading members of staff of the European Community Commission.

Talks with NATO Deputy Secretary General Von Moltke [title as received], members of the staff of the International Secretariat, and representatives of the NATO member states in the Political Committee of this organization were dedicated to Ukraine's participation in the program "Partnership for Peace" and a profound explanation of Ukraine's stand on nuclear disarmament issues.

Taking part in the meetings were also the leaders of the Ukrainian president's service for international issues Anton Buteyko and Ukraine's ambassador to Benelux, Vasylenko.

This has been reported by the information department of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine.

Kiev 'Not Obliged' To Inform Moscow of Nuclear Accidents

LD2001203394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Chairman of Ukrainian Gosatomnadzor (state committee for supervising safety requirements at nuclear power stations) Nikolay Steinberg believes that Kiev is "not obliged to inform Moscow of all accidents at Ukrainian nuclear power stations since we have not signed any bilateral agreements on exchange of nuclear information."

In an interview with INTERFAX-Ukraine, Steinberg pointed out that "there exists a coherent international system for the notification of the nuclear situation in the world, under which all members of the European Nuclear Society inform the headquarters of this organization based in Switzerland of accidents at their nuclear power stations, which distributes the information among the other member-states."

Meanwhile, the head of the press service of the Russian Gosatomnadzor, Yuriy Rogozhin, told INTERFAX yesterday that failures to inform the Russian Gosatomnadzor by former Soviet republics violate the official agreement between the nuclear supervising organizations reached shortly after the break-up of the Soviet Union.

Agreement With Russia on Use of Space Center

LD1801191794 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] Agreement has been reached between Ukraine and Russia on jointly using the space flight control center near Yevpatoria in the Crimea. This was reported today by Ukraine's National Space Agency.

The center was set up in 1960 under the leadership of Sergey Korolev. It has been out of action for the past year and a half because of attempts to divide it between Ukraine and Russia.

Baltin Enlists Yermakov Under Command

LD2001143594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1343 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, signed an order today enlisting Ivan Yermakov under his own command. Yermakov had been removed from the office of representative of the Ukrainian president in Sevastopol. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet that the decision coincides with the opinion of Yermakov himself, who previously occupied the office of head of an aircraft repair plant and has the rank of colonel in the Navy. Moreover, he never took the Ukrainian oath and did not express any desire to serve in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The commander of the Black Sea Fleet has ordered the head of the fleet's personnel department to establish Yermakov in the post within two months in keeping with his wishes.

Ukraine, PRC Envoys Discuss Nuclear Disarmament

LD1801214794 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] On 18 January Anatoliy Plyushko, Ukrainian ambassador to the People's Republic of China, had a meeting with (Dai Bingo), PRC assistant foreign affairs minister. The ambassador gave a detailed account of the results of the meeting between the Ukrainian, U.S., and Russian presidents in Moscow and the contents of the declaration they signed. It was emphasized that the accords, reached as the result of the meeting, on providing Ukraine with security guarantees, as well as financial and technological assistance for eliminating nuclear weapons and compensation for uranium contained in nuclear warheads were creating the necessary conditions for gradual elimination of the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian soil and for Ukraine to attain nonnuclear status. It said that the accords, to a considerable degree, were resolving the problems that caused the Ukrainian Supreme Council to have reservations about ratifying the START I treaty and the Lisbon protocol.

The hope was expressed that, as a nuclear power and permanent member of the UN Security Council, China would play an active part in settling the issue of nuclear disarmament in Ukraine and, in particular, of providing Ukraine with security guarantees and financial assistance in order to eliminate the nuclear weapons deployed on its territory.

Poland Arrests Ukrainian 'Special Services Major'

PM2001141394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Leonid Kornilov report: "Ukrainian Spy in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—For the first time since the war an intelligence officer from the eastern border will appear before a Polish military court. He is Anatoliy Lysenko, a 40-year-old Ukrainian special services major. He was given away by a Polish agent he himself recruited three years ago.

The agent will not escape the dock either. He is Janus B., a 22-year-old technical construction worker. Dozens of times he illegally carried copper into Ukraine and spirits on the return journey. Ukrainian border guards caught the smuggler, and eventually he agreed to work for Ukrainian security service organs. Janus delivered to Lysenko information about political and other events in Poland's eastern provinces and church life.

Lysenko was arrested in August 1992 when crossing the border.

Kravchuk Views Ties With Russia, Situation

PM1901153194 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by Stanislav Prokopchuk; place and date not given: "Leonid Kravchuk: Let's Take Account of Today's Realities"]

[Text] [Prokopchuk] Leonid Makarovich, what is your view of the present situation in Ukraine, above all the financial and economic situation? Does the country indeed face financial collapse in the next few months, as certain foreign observers and also some Ukrainian politicians claim?

[Kravchuk] The situation is grave, even very grave. There is inflation, the crisis in industry, the slump in production.... This is all true, so to speak. I will mention a few of what I see as the main reasons for our economy's plight.

When Ukraine was part of the USSR, the main emphasis was placed on the development of heavy industry—

mining, metallurgy, the chemical industry.... That is, on sectors that do not directly benefit people but consume the bulk of energy. And when the prices of energy sources quintupled for us in the last 18 months, this was naturally bound to affect the entire national economic system. On top of that there are the problems with the financial and banking system. After all, it essentially never existed here. The Ukrainian national bank was just a subsidiary of the USSR bank.

Another factor has certainly been the cadres problem. Cadres have proved unprepared to swiftly restructure our entire economy as an autonomous, independent system. Not with a view to isolation, but with a view to being able to resolve by our own efforts the qualitatively new tasks facing us as a sovereign state.

[Prokopchuk] Isn't this the explanation of the lurches, uncertainty over the choice of path, and sabotage of the transformations on the part of the old management apparatus, which has barely been renewed at all?

[Kravchuk] I would not speak of sabotage as such. That is an exaggeration. But the inconsistency of our actions on the road to the market is clear. And the replacement of three governments is confirmation of that. We are now on our fourth. All the previous ones quit under pressure of the situation, on the initiative of the Supreme Council. This rapid replacement of governments is also not a good thing and has also had an adverse effect.

The main miscalculation has been the attempt to combine the principles of the administrative-edict economy and the market economy. Seeing that the switch to market relations is not proceeding as rapidly as we would like, our managers have clung to familiar levers. Nothing sensible has come of this. And only now, in my view, is the government adopting the correct course—an anti-inflationary, market course. But with mandatory control on the part of the state. Since at present property largely remains in state hands.

In short, there are shifts. Over 20,000 enterprises—small, medium, and large—will be privatized this year.

[Prokopchuk] But Western specialists' forecasts are not so rosy. It is openly being said that the Ukrainian economy will inevitably collapse and that Ukraine is doomed as an independent state. Do you share this view?

[Kravchuk] I want to answer your question with another—To whose advantage is it for Ukraine to be independent, who generally wants this? There had long been balance in the world and in Europe, and tested and proven ties in the economy and politics had been established. Then all of a sudden the geopolitical situation changes sharply. Along with other new states, Ukraine appears on the map of the world—a sizable country possessing nuclear weapons, a country with a decent industrial potential and fertile soil. Today it is experiencing difficulties and economic crisis. But it is capable of becoming rich. Calculations show that if normal agricultural production and processing are organized, Ukraine can provide not only itself but also other countries with piles of foodstuffs. Tell me, who benefits by this? So hundreds of complex questions arise.

Our neighbors also have political interests—access to Europe, access to the sea, access to Crimea.... That is, a whole system of views emerges which as I see it boil down to the fact that today a great many people are interested in ensuring that Ukraine does not make it as an independent state. There is the foreign policy factor of press from both East and West.

[Prokopchuk] What about domestic political forces?

[Kravchuk] Naturally, there are also domestic forces that do not want Ukraine to make it as a sovereign state. Some are angry with the authorities, whom they describe as partyocratic and communist. There are the national-patriots. They are angry with Kravchuk and others. But, in opposing the president, they are essentially opposing their own people. Although they pay a lot of lipservice to the people's interests.

There are also forces openly oriented toward the interests of other states. Admittedly, many people allude only to Russia, believing that "Ukrainian" interests predominate there. However, I do not share that view. Russia naturally has more "Ukrainian" interests than other countries, and there is still a very great deal of work to be done to harmonize the interests of Ukraine and Russia. But to claim that Russia alone is an opponent of our interests, as many people try to make out, is a mistake. We simply have not yet found the key to resolving questions with Russia. That is my profound conviction.

In short, both domestic and external factors are extremely complex, and we will have to make great efforts to avoid provoking grave confrontations. But I think that thanks to our consistency and flexibility, thanks to the fact that we have sought and have found compromises, we have managed to retain good relations with our neighbors and retain good friends abroad. Thanks to our considered actions in resolving internal political problems, in particular interethnic problems, and thanks to our people's wisdom we have not evoked confrontations inside our state, although some people badly want this. We live in peace. And this is the most important point.

[Prokopchuk] Now let us touch on purely economic problems. How was it possible to repay half the debt to Russia?

[Kravchuk] First, we began to make savings and we reduced consumption. Second, we began to make real repayments, realizing that you cannot live in debt. Now, if we manage to solve the problem of compensation for nuclear weapons and succeed in resolving other questions, in particular the question of the Black Sea Fleet, I think we will cope with the problem of debts to Russia.

Debts are not the most important thing today. Every state has them. No one makes a tragedy out of this. A

debt can always be repaid, there is the basis and prospect for this. The most important thing is to learn to work in the new conditions and to create competitive output and technologies which will make it possible to integrate intensively with the world economy and the economy of the Commonwealth countries.

[Prokopchuk] What is the situation regarding payment for the transit of Russian freight on Ukrainian railroads and Russian gas and oil? There are rumors that Russia has already been given all Ukrainian compressor stations and other pipeline facilities as a contribution toward repaying the debts.

[Kravchuk] Those are just rumors. They play into the hands of those who are interested in robbing the state. The question of transit was raised by our acting Prime Minister Y. Zvyahilskyy during talks in Moscow ahead of the Ashgabat meeting.

Solutions were found. Russia reduced gas prices, and we reduced transit prices accordingly. The same happened with Turkmenistan.

[Prokopchuk] Private capital and big investors who would help fill the empty shelves and remove social tension are not shunning Ukraine only because of the political instability. They are deterred by the absence of guarantees regarding the export of their share of the profits and the absence of a law on land assigning to the owners of an enterprise the land on which it stands.... Ukraine, bankers claim, is dying for want of investment.

[Kravchuk] We adopted foreign economic laws back when I was chairman of the Supreme Council. At that time we had our laws assessed by experts in a number of countries with a developed market economy. But when one of our governments received the right to issue decrees, it slightly rejigged these laws. A number of important provisions that were to investors' advantage were removed.

We are now rectifying this situation. At any rate, today our foreign economic laws are no worse than those operating in other countries. They give the right to unimpeded evacuation of profits, properly defend the investor's capital, and provide him with guarantees and tax breaks. But our presentation of these laws is painfully low-key and useless.

Another point. If we had a convertible national currency and if we managed to curb inflation, investors would be keener to come here. That is, today the laws are not the problem.

[Prokopchuk] Many people believe that the slump in production in Ukraine and therefore the decline in the population's living standard result from the severing of economic ties with Russia. But former Vice Premier B. Pinzenik claims that this is not the cause but the effect of the fact "that we have artificially blocked the way to the Russian market with quotas, licenses, duties, and taxes and, now we have lost this market, have nothing with which to purchase Russian energy sources." What is your view?

[Kravchuk] What happened happened. But now we have removed many of the "barriers." But it cannot be said that the "barriers" were erected only by Ukraine. When Russia first sent us the list of its goods liable to export duties and the list ran, I think, to over 2,000 items, I said: What kind of "free trade" is this? (Incidentally, our list of goods for which special export procedures were introduced at that time consisted of only 300 items.) Why did the Russians not lift the ban on free trade in their oil, gas, and timber?

Moreover, who was the first to start to erect borders between Ukraine and Russia, who was the first to adopt that decision? Russia. But I bear no grudge. Every state has to defend itself and its interests. I am merely in favor of ensuring that there is no distortion or lack of objectivity. And that mutual interests are taken into account and everything is resolved on businesslike, partner principles.

Why is the European Community prospering? Because there if citrus fruit prices in Italy and Spain are at a given level, they are the same in France as well, and if somebody wants to change something, they assemble for a general council for a mutually respectful review of quotas, taxes, and duties.

But what happens over here? Russia introduces its own prices, its own wages without consulting with anybody.... We cannot do this because we are in different leagues. Russia has a positive balance, it has colossal natural resources, and it can permit itself things that neither we nor other CIS countries can permit ourselves.

The upshot is that, given the low purchasing power of our population and the low prices compared with those in Russia, a flood of Ukrainian foodstuffs, anything that can be transported and carried, poured into Russia. Our stores and depots were stripped bare. So we were forced at the end of the year to double or triple food prices in order to halt the plundering of the country. Today you can buy a ticket to Moscow or other Russian cities without any problem—the flood of peddlers exploiting this "equal, mutually advantageous" cooperation, the "consideration" of mutual interests, and the operation of the "unified regulatory system" has dried up.

This mechanism does not exist; there is only talk about it. Just why do those who shove microphones at Ukrainian citizens at markets in Bryansk and Smolensk not tell the truth about the reasons for these pilgrimages but only screen the "unadorned," strictly personal (and "correct," of course) viewpoint of their interviewee?

[Prokopchuk] Leonid Makarovich, why in your view has the ruble zone not worked out? And what is your prediction for the future of the CIS?

[Kravchuk] I said from the very beginning that there would be no ruble zone. Because we have the wrong view of the ruble zone and how it should be understood. In history there have been dollar pools, sterling zones.... But then each of the states belonging to the said zone had its own currency and aligned it with the main currency. The dollar, for example. But what did we want from the ruble zone? A single ruble—the same for all the states? That is not a ruble zone, but a ruble state.

Russia must not be blamed here; I would have acted the same way as the Central Bank of Russia. If I print the money (and this is the greatest asset) I also have to track the money supply, the correctness of mutual settlements, prices. If this is not done Russia will die, it will be overtaken by stronger inflation than we have. To live in different states and set your own prices, wages, and taxes while all using the same ruble is unrealistic. I talked about this in Moscow when we were discussing the problem of the Economic Union. At the time many people took exception to what I said. But within a month we had confirmation of what I was asserting. Russia has ultimately forced out of its zone almost all those who nurtured hopes of finding a home in this zone. And Russia is right. It is pursuing primarily its own interests and attending to the stability of its own monetary system, the prevention of inflation, and the strengthening of its own economy. And this is natural. This is how we, and others, would act. Charity begins at home.

As for the fate of the CIS, we are witnessing, as I have already said, the improvement of our Commonwealth's structure. It is hard to predict today what the specific directions of this improvement will be, but the fact that the Commonwealth is necessary is beyond doubt. There are two main strands: The member countries' common problems must be solved within a CIS framework, while questions of relations between individual states must be resolved on a bilateral basis. These two strands were indeed in evidence during the meetings and talks in Ashgabat.

Can the Commonwealth, in the long term, become the same kind of association of states as the European Union? Maybe, but it will take time. The internal complexities in every CIS member country are a brake on the processes of the broader and more active improvement of the CIS itself. But in the long term, I repeat, we can achieve the same kind of union as the EEC.

[Prokopchuk] If it isn't a secret, how are the Massandra accords on the Black Sea Fleet and other issues being implemented?

[Kravchuk] There is movement. First and foremost in understanding the other side. I proceed on the basis that we have already adopted three documents relating to the Fleet—the Yalta, Dagomys, and Massandra accords. When we were adopting them we moved first forward and then backward. In any event, taking these documents as a whole, they can serve as the starting point for steps forward. It was this that I suggested to President B. Yeltsin. But the Russian side is seeking to use only the Massandra document. And does not wish to take account of the two previous documents, which nobody has rescinded. On the one side you have a protocol of intent, on the other—signed agreements.

You cannot pick and choose only the things which you find advantageous and convenient to yourself. It is necessary to examine everything as a package, on the basis of mutual acceptability, not to exploit the situation and some short-term advantages; it is necessary to take the long-term view.

If today some people think that a change of borders is possible, they are deeply mistaken. Agreement on something specific is indeed possible—there have been examples of this in history. But times need to be different for this. It is necessary to follow only the path of discussion, the path of accords. To try to resolve something by force means to unleash conflict. Incidentally, it's not all as simple in the Crimea as people sometimes like to suggest.

[Prokopchuk] Incidentally, it is 340 years since the Pereyaslavl Assembly [which voted for Ukrainian union with Muscovy].

[Kravchuk] Yes, we lived together for 340 years and now we cannot resolve the problems which have built up and accumulated.... I believe that we will have closer ties than before, natural ties, not diktat—older and younger brothers, dominant and subordinate peoples. We will cooperate as equal partners. We must move toward this kind of relationship calmly, smoothly, handsomely, with the understanding that we are Slav peoples and are ordained to live together, side by side, forever. The only thing is that today no stupidities must be committed. By Russia or Ukraine. People must not state that Ukraine as such does not exist, and Ukrainian independence is in general a "historical mistake."

Nor do I share the other side's statements that all the difficulties which we have come up against today are "Russian intrigues," that it has been the "dirty Muscovites" ["moskali"] who have been strangling us all his time.... For some reason some people are very keen to cause trouble between us. This is why it is necessary not to commit stupidities or ignore today's realities.

[Prokopchuk] By ratifying START I and the Lisbon Protocol with a number of substantial provisos did Ukraine not doom itself to a further, tighter credit blockade and uncompromising political pressure from the United States and other nuclear states?

[Kravchuk] The Supreme Council decree includes provisos which are perfectly normal and natural, as they say. Yes, Ukraine is entitled to compensation for its nuclear weapons, Ukraine must have reliable guarantees of its security, Ukraine needs assistance to eliminate its nuclear weapons.

But the fact that the Supreme Council did not vote to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is a major

mistake by our parliament. I have said and will continue to say this, I will insist that the only correct path for us is to join the treaty. We cannot change the already adopted course toward nuclear-free status. You can build any illusions you like, even about creating our own nuclear industry, but they are only illusions. It is clear to everyone that we do not need the weapons we inherited from the USSR. And nobody will ever use them.

Everybody knows that, even if such an insane idea was to come into somebody's head, it is practically impossible today for Ukraine to launch the missiles. Any of these 176 missiles can be launched only on orders from Moscow. This is clear to everyone, but nevertheless attempts continue to be made to turn us into a bogeyman.

In signing the trilateral statement and the annex to it in Moscow on 14 January, Ukraine won a political, economic, and human victory. The United States, Russia, and the entire world community shared it with us. Nobody will now say that Ukraine is standing still on the nuclear disarmament road. The road to START II and even START III is now open. Mankind has gained real hope of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

There is something else I also wish to stress. Most of the demands formulated in the Ukrainian Supreme Council's provisos relating to ratification of the START I treaty were met. In the documents which were signed the United States and Russia stated that they respect Ukraine's territorial integrity and independence, that is, they are becoming guarantors of our security. After acceding to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty—and I am confident that our parliament will now adopt such a decision—Ukraine will be safeguarded against nuclear attack. And, equally importantly, we will receive compensation for the uranium in the strategic missile warheads which will be sent to Russia, plus financial, scientific, and technical assistance in eliminating our nuclear weapons.

As for the part of your question relating to a tougher credit blockade, in December there was indeed a real threat of isolation. But now broad political and economic cooperation prospects are opening up for us.

[Prokopchuk] And a final, purely personal point, Leonid Makarovich, if you will permit me. Since you also became head of government there has been an obvious increase in your workload. Do you manage to carve out time for your family and grandchildren? And in general what is your life like outside work?

[Kravchuk] My grandson Andrey is 13 and as tall as me; he's an early developer. And my granddaughter Mashenka is six. She's so sweet and interesting. When they are with me it's the only time I get completely away from all the worries and problems. You have to answer their endless questions, you see. When we get involved in their games I myself also become like a child. I can play hide-and-seek with my eyes blindfolded; when they crawl around on their knees, I crawl around on my knees; when they jump, I jump. Those are the times I really relax....

Parliamentary Plenum Discusses Arms Agreement

LD2001160694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1406 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—The first plenary sitting of the ninth session of Ukraine's Supreme Council (the 12th convocation) began on 20 January. Twenty people's deputies who had expressed their proposals with regard to the three blocks of basic problems, took part in discussing the agenda. Parliamentary chairman Ivan Plyushch included the issue of the economy and the budget, the fight against corruption and abuse, the payment of pensions, and raising salaries for workers in education whose representatives picketed the Supreme Council this morning, in the first block.

The second block consists of issues connected to the elections in the Crimean Republic. Three hundred and four deputies voted to submit the additions to point 7-2 of article 114-5 of Ukraine's constitution, according to which the president of Ukraine would be given the right to repeal "acts of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, ministerial acts, and acts of other central bodies of Ukraine's state executive power as well as acts of the central bodies of power of the Republic of Crimea in the event of their incompatibility with the constitution and laws of Ukraine and decrees of Ukraine's president."

From the third block of issues, concerning nuclear disarmament, parliamentary standing commissions on foreign affairs, defense, and security, and on legislation and legality are to prepare, by 25 January, a resolution on the compatibility of the trilateral statement by the Ukrainian, Russian, and U.S. presidents with the earlier adopted parliamentary resolution on the ratification of the START I Treaty.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ukraine's security service have been charged with preparing information on the course of the investigation into the affair of the attack on the Rukh secretariat and the disappearance of Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, Rukh's head of secretariat.

A report of the special deputies' commission concerning the activity of the leadership of the "Blasko-Black Sea Fleet concern" will be heard on 26 January

A Supreme Council resolution on the renewal of direct radio broadcasts of plenary sittings and presentations in the form of reports on TV, was adopted.

Deputies heard a report from Ukraine's first deputy minister of the economy, Valentyn Popov, on the plan of the economic and social development for 1994. The speaker gave several indices that characterized the state of the economy: national income fell by 15 percent compared to 1992; social labor productivity fell by 13 percent; the decline of industrial production is 7.4 percent of last year's level and it took place in more than

half of industrial enterprises. Last year 16 percent fewer consumer goods were manufactured, including foodstuffs (9.4 percent fewer) and emission amounted to 12.3 trillion karbovantsi. Among the plan's basic directions are structural changes in the economy on the basis of state priorities, the attraction of investments from all kinds of sources, and the creation, on the basis of state ownership, of economic subjects that are fully responsible for the consequences of their activity. The Cabinet of Ministers is counting on an increase in the rate of the karbovanets to 16,000 karbovantsi to the U.S. dollar, maintaining prices for coal throughout the year at the level of the first quarter of 1994 and an increase in the population's money incomes by 5.1 times at a price of 4.45 times. In the words of Valentyn Popov, these indices could be achieved by conducting a tough credit policy, introducing more flexible mechanisms of regulating the consumer fund, developing the process of clearing up enterprises' finances [sanatsiya pidpryyemstv], privatizing small and medium size enterprises, incorporation [korporatyzatsiya] of large enterprises, and increasing control over prices at all levels.

Party Urges Kravchuk Impeachment Over Accord

LD1801133094 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1917 GMT 17 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 17 January—The leadership of the State Independence of Ukraine [DSU] association said the trilateral agreement signed in Moscow proves that the policy of Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, aimed at Ukraine's unilateral disarmament, is leading our state to a national disaster. This was said in a DSU statement to Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch.

"Despite our critical attitude to the composition of the Supreme Council and some of its decisions, we cannot fail to see that today it is a lesser evil compared to the presidential structures," the statement stresses. The DSU sees Ukraine's Supreme Council as an obstacle to the defeatist policy of Ukraine's president and believes that after the current Supreme Council is dissolved, Leonid Kravchuk will use the temporary period of one-man rule to bring Ukraine to its knees with the help of Clinton and Yeltsin.

The DSU reminds Plyushch that the decision to hold early elections on 27 March was adopted in violation of the Constitution, under the president's pressure. It calls on the chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council to initiate a proposal at the next Supreme Council session to postpone the Supreme Council elections to a later date. The date of the parliamentary elections can be set to coincide with the next presidential election or with the expiry of the current Supreme Council's five-year term, the DSU believes.

During this time, according to the DSU, the Supreme Council must approve a law on impeachment of the president of Ukraine and apply it before the next elections.

Rukh Leader Criticizes Kravchuk, U.S.

LD1901222994 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Ukraine's president did not betray anything because one cannot betray something he did not dedicate himself to. Les Tanyuk, member of the presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine and of the central leadership of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka [Rukh], said this to a RUKH-PRESS correspondent. The act committed by Leonid Kravchuk on 14 January in Moscow did not give any advantages whatsoever to Ukraine, either in the political or the economic spheres, Les Tanyuk is convinced. By signing the Russian-U.S. categorical demands, Kravchuk proved that he can only be a sprinter but not a long-distance runner in world politics. Les Tanyuk also believes that the absence of the mechanisms of eliminating nuclear weapons in the signed trilateral statement deprives Ukraine of any guarantees of its own security.

The Rukh leader stressed that the United States has again made a drastic mistake, as far as Russia is concerned. Even the outcome of the latest election did not cause the United States to refrain from supporting the imperial policy conducted by Moscow which, following the czarist and communist regimes, is now being revived under the banner of Zhyrynovshchyna [code of ideas and norms of behavior associated with Zhirinovskiy]. All this reminds Les Tanyuk of the events connected with the official recognition of the USSR by Washington in 1933, precisely when the famine in Ukraine, engineered by Moscow, was at its peak. By such dangerous actions the West is forging nails for its own crucifixion by Russian national chauvinism, Les Tanyuk emphasized.

Green Party Favors Accord With Reservations

LD2001183594 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1406 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] A session of the Green Party of Ukraine took place on 20 January apropos the signing of the tripartite statement by the presidents of the United States, Ukraine, and Russia on eliminating nuclear weapons in Ukraine. In particular Vitaliy Kononov, chairman of the party, and Sergey Kurykin, chairman of its political council, took part in the session. The "greens" evaluated favorably the document, which had been signed. "The agreement gives a new impulse to making external ties more vigorous and strengthening them, which in its turn will stimulate potential foreign investors to become more active, Vitaliy Kononov noted. The reservation lies in the fact that compensation for nuclear weapons in the shape of fuel for operational Ukrainian atomic electric power station is not grounds for their further development."

The concern of the Green Party of Ukraine is evoked by the conditions for processing and burying radioactive waste.

Regarding the proposal of the Kharkov "greens" to nominate Leonid Kravchuk for the Nobel Peace Prize for steps toward the non-nuclear status of Ukraine, Kononov replied that the Green Party of Ukraine is still going to examine this issue, because at present they do not have information about the mechanism for granting this prize.

Kazakh President Arrives in Kiev for Talks

LD2001130294 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1137 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Viktor Demydenko and Oleksiy Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Jan—The Kazakh president's plane has just landed at Boryspil international airport, where the state flags of Ukraine and the Republic of Kazakhstan were hoisted.

At the aircraft's ramp, Nursultan Nazarbayev was met by Acting Ukrainian Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukraine's Presidential Administration Secretary Mykola Homenko, and other officials. Girls in Ukrainian national costumes welcomed the Kazakh president with bread and salt.

The motorcade has left Boryspil airport for Kiev, where a meeting between the Ukrainian and Kazakh presidents and Ukrainian-Kazakh negotiations are due to take place.

Tours Aircraft Center With Kravchuk

LD2001194394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Alexey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev January 20 TASS—The Antonov scientific and technical aircraft centre has designed a new air liner, AN-70 transport aircraft, which is to be produced by three former Soviet republics—Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan.

The rollout ceremony was attended by Presidents Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, who is currently on an official visit to Ukraine.

According to chief designer Pyotr Balabuyev, the new plane is intended for carrying cargoes and equipment by civil aviation and the air force. The aircraft can carry up to 30-35 tons of cargoes for a distance up to 4,000-5,000 km at a speed of 750-800 km/h. The first air liners are expected to be put into service already in 1996.

Experts believe that the new aircraft can replace the U.S.-made C-130 Hercules and the European-made C-160 Transol presently used in West European countries.

Signs Cooperation Agreements

LD2001234494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2130 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—On 20 January the presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leonid Kravchuk and Nursultan Nazarbayev, signed the declaration "Contemporary World: Challenges and Dangers." In particular, it indicates that the "positive developments on the European and Asian continents are accompanied by the rise of new challenges and dangers. Among these is the aggravation of inter-ethnic conflicts, creation of 'vacuum security' zones, attempts to destabilize new independent states from outside and establish 'spheres of influence'."

The document points out that the idea of "Partnership for Peace" approved by the heads of the NATO member-states has a great positive potential. Its implementation will allow the expansion expand the framework of stability, peace, and trust among states. "We have no right to turn a blind eye to the fact that of late, the forces which call for the reanimation of the totalitarian regime have stepped up their activity," says the declaration. "Ukraine and Kazakhstan, which have voluntarily chosen the path toward a non-nuclear status, cannot but feel anxiety for their security. We call on all the interested states and governments to double their efforts geared to building a safer and a more stable world."

Also signed were a "Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between Ukraine and the Republic of Kazakhstan" and eight agreements which regulate mutual indebtedness, establish further cooperation in the space, military and industrial spheres.

Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk and President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev held a news conference for journalists at which they expressed their points of view concerning the priorities of the present-day policy, the prospects for the CIS, the security guarantees for the states which acceded to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and other issues. In particular, Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed his wish to introduce a single monetary unit called "altyn" on the territory of the former Union and also travel cards which would ensure the freedom of movement on the territory of the CIS states. The presidents expressed their negative attitudes towards the institution of dual citizenship and promised to spare no effort to develop bilateral relations.

On 21 January the Kazakhstan delegation leaves for Dnepropetrovsk, where it will visit the "PivdenMash" [southern machine] plant, and for Dneprodzerzhinsk where the future mining engineer, Nursultan Nazarbayev, was on a practical attachment during the years of his studentship.

Uzbek Defense Minister Arrives on Official Visit

LD1901221494 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] On 19 January, Rustam Akhmedov, the defense minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan, arrived in Kiev

on an official visit. On 20 January he will meet his Ukrainian counterpart Vitaliy Radetskyy. They will sign an agreement on cooperation of the two states in the military sphere. It is also planned that the Uzbek delegation will visit the aviation scientific and technical complex named after Oleh Antonov.

Military Cooperation Accord Signed

LD2001144994 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1232 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 20 January—An official meeting between the defense ministers of Ukraine and the Republic of Uzbekistan was held at the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Agreement on this meeting had been reached during the Ukrainian president's stay in Ashgabat at the end of last year. As early as in 1992 the two countries' military departments concluded the Agreement on Cooperation. Today Uzbek Defense Minister Lieutenant General Rustam Akhmedov and Ukrainian Defense Minister Army General Vitaliy Radetskyy signed the bilateral Agreement on Military Cooperation. The participants in the meeting expressed certainty that friendly Ukrainian-Uzbek relations would develop further, which would also be helped by cooperation in the sphere of the defense complex. On behalf of the Ukrainian president, Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy presented Defense Minister Rustam Akhmedov with a personal watch.

National Affairs

Supreme Council Discusses Events in Crimea

LD2001140994 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1232 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 20 Jan—Deputies began the first day of work of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's ninth session with a discussion of issues connected with organizing the present parliamentary session's 12th meeting and the procedure for broadcasting the session's work. Some deputies proposed to hold plenary sittings of the ninth session of parliament in cases where issues will require urgent discussion by Ukraine's Supreme Council. Such a step was motivated by the start of the pre-election campaign, in which a significant number of deputies are participating.

The agenda for the Supreme Council's work for January 1994 was proposed to deputies. The issue concerning the results of the trilateral negotiations in Moscow is not among the 70 issues designated for discussion at the session. A report from Popov's commission (concerning the "Blasko" concern [Black Sea shipping company]) has been added to the list of issues that may be discussed depending on their state of preparedness and time permitting. Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch described the examination of the law on additions to Point 7-2 of Article 115 of the Constitution to be among the most important issues. It states that the president may repeal acts of the Cabinet of Ministers and other bodies of central power if they are in violation of Ukraine's constitution. This issue is connected with events in Crimea.

Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil voiced a demand from Rukh to convene a parliamentary commission connected with attacks on Rukh's headquarters in Chernovtsy and Ternopol, an attempt on the life of Colonel Butko, a parliamentary candidate from Rukh, and the kidnapping of Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, head of Rukh's secretariat.

Chornovil proposed that the issue of the anti-constitutional actions of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who blatantly violated a parliamentary resolution of 18 November (regarding the ratification of START I) and the situation in Crimea, be included on the agenda and discussed immediately.

Kravchuk Removes Crimean Envoy From Duties

LD2001092694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0855 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk signed a decree on Wednesday, removing Ivan Yermakov from the post of presidential representative in Sevastopol, sources close to the presidential office reported on Thursday.

Kravchuk temporarily transferred the duties of his representative in Sevastopol to Nikolay Glushko, first deputy head of the city administration.

ITAR-TASS learnt at the press centre of the Black Sea Fleet later in the day that the Union of Afghan Veterans, the Sevastopol Russian community, the Crimean Movement of Voters, the union in support of the Crimean Republic and the leadership of city social services voiced support for Yermakov.

It is expected that the Sevastopol city council will call a special session in the near future to discuss Yermakov's resignation.

Local analysts believe that the resignation of the presidential representative in Sevastopol was caused by his participation in the election campaign as a candidate for the post of Crimean president.

Yermakov made repeated statements during the campaign that the problem of the Black Sea Fleet should be resolved in favour of Russia.

According to analysts, Kiev was also evidently riled by the fact that Yermakov did not support the candidacy of Crimean Parliament Speaker Nikolay Bahrov during the election campaign.

Crimea Frontrunner Views Ties With Kiev

PM2001140194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Nikolay Semena report: "Once a 'Hawk,' Now a 'Dove'"]

[Text] Simferopol—Yuriy Meshkov, the contender for the Crimean presidency who polled the largest number of votes in the first round of the election, has ceased to be a "hawk" and has become a "dove" instead.

He has switched from peremptory accusations against Ukraine to the search for forms of cooperation. Asked whether he is not afraid that Kiev will block the second round of elections, Yu. Meshkov answered: "I trust Leonid Kravchuk very much; he is one of the most eminent politicians of the present day, and he knows how to settle the situation in Ukraine and abroad. He has stated that the actual disposition of forces in the Crimea precludes the use of strong-arm methods to influence the situation, and I believe that he is speaking sincerely."

Yuriy Meshkov stressed: "The people of Crimea have voted for change, for a departure from the old nomenklatura-based laws of life, and for a close alliance with Russia" and the CIS countries. This will make it possible to improve relations between Kiev, Simferopol, and Moscow. He said that by this vote the people have legitimized the institution of the presidency in the Crimea and that Kiev's dissatisfaction with the first round results is a "reaction to personalities, not to the legislation and constitution of the Crimea.... It is a short-term dissatisfaction and will soon evaporate."

Crimean Deputy Dies From Wounds in Attack

WS2101090694 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Two days after a bloody attack, Crimean People's Deputy Iskandr Mamedov has died after having not regained consciousness. Mamedov had been the organizer of Mikola Bahrov's presidential election campaign in the Crimea.

As we have already reported, as the result of a terrorist attack—in which still-unidentified assailants opened fire on Mamedov's house—11 people, including two of Mamedov's children, were wounded, two people were killed, and Mamedov was taken to the emergency room of a local hospital in extremely critical condition. Surgeons removed several bullets and grenade fragments from his body, which he had tried to use as shield to protect his children. Surgeons did everything possible, but, to our great regret, neither two operations nor modern methods of treatment could bring this kind and talented man—the father of seven children—back to life.

Ukrainian Radio expresses its sincere sympathy to the family and friends of the deceased.

Kravchuk on Aspects of State Building, Crimea

LD1901154294 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2240 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 18 Jan—In his speech at the conference of representatives of local councils of people's deputies of Ukraine, President Kravchuk noted that the problem of state building facing us, which had two aspects: internal political (to lay the basics of a balanced interaction between the branches of power and the creation of preconditions for their renewal) and external political (Ukraine has the image of a state that carries out a balanced policy). The first step along this path are the elections on 27 March.

Leonid Kravchuk noted that it is inexpedient at this time to drag out the constitutional process because it leads to chaos and anarchy. He proposed the following mechanism: To support the basic conceptual provisions on the organization of state power and self-government today and then this would be examined by the Supreme Council and later submitted to a nationwide discussion. In the president's opinion, it would be inexpedient to include the issue of state symbols and language in the constitution.

An amendment submitted by President Kravchuk was adopted regarding the Crimea: bodies of state power of the Crimea are formed on the basis of the constitution and laws of Ukraine; the authority of the Supreme Council of the Crimea may be suspended by the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council, said that an amendment to Article 114 of the Constitution, namely that the president may cancel acts of the state power of the Crimean Republic which contradict Ukraine's current legislation, will be discussed at a meeting of the Supreme Council on 20 January.

Attack on Rukh Offices, Missing Official Reported

AU2001114294 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 19 Jan 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "An Armed Attack on the Rukh Secretariat. Mysterious Disappearance of Its Chairman"]

[Text] Overnight between 15 and 16 January, an armed attack was made on the Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] Secretariat in Kiev. As reported by RUKH-PRESS, two unknown persons, claiming that they had to hand a package of documents from Lvov to chairman of the Secretariat Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, entered the reception room together with a watchman. As Mykhaylo Boychyshyn was not there, the visitors started telephoning him at home. After the call, which seems to have remained unanswered, one of the attackers pulled out a pistol. Hitting the guard on the head twice, he ordered that the chairman of the Secretariat be found immediately. After the watchman's

refusal to fulfill the order, the attackers demanded that another guard they had noticed before, be summoned. The latter offered resistance and locked himself up in a room. The RUKH-PRESS head, who was at work at the time, immediately called the militia. Before the militiamen appeared, the armed "guests" managed to escape. On the same day, chairman of the Secretariat Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, who had left the office about three hours prior to the attack, disappeared. His whereabouts are still not known. The day before, the premises of the Ternopil regional organization of Rukh were also subject to an armed attack. At night, unknown persons got into the building through the second floor window, broke the doors of the Information Center and of other offices, and carried out a pogrom there. Having made their way to the roof of the building, the offenders dismantled and stole the installation for satellite antenna reception. Law-enforcement organs have started an investigation.

Rukh Protests 'Terrorist Acts'

LD2001193694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1406 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—A session of the central leadership of the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh] took place on 19 January. Three statements were adopted at the session. The statement regarding terrorist acts against People's Movement of Ukraine activists names numerous events, which have occurred in many oblasts of Ukraine, in particular the disappearance of Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, head of the Rukh secretariat, without a trace on the night of 15 January, and the reflection is expressed that "certain circles in the state are endeavoring to demoralize the democratic forces on the eve of elections and frighten their adherents by means of terror."

The central leadership of Rukh evaluates the tripartite statement on eliminating nuclear weapons in Ukraine as "capitulation by Ukrainian state officials to gross external pressure," which became possible as a result of the lack of a clear and consistent foreign policy by the government. The leadership of Rukh believes that Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, took a capitulatory step.

Evaluating the results of the presidential elections in the Crimea, the central leadership of Rukh stated that the president's policy, aimed at pacifying the separatist forces, failed totally. The leadership of Rukh believes that a further delay of resolute actions by the president and Supreme Council of Ukraine regarding the stirring up of separatism in the Crimea could lead to armed conflict and irremediable consequences for the citizens of Ukraine and peace in Europe.

Rukh Assails 'Anti-Popular Measures'

LD1801193094 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] The central leadership of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka [Rukh] has described the latest government moves—the cancellation of credit arrangements, immediate repayment to the National Bank of loans, withdrawal of state subsidies for food, another round of administrative price rises, and procrastination in index-linking wages and delay in paying them—as none other than the continuation of the war waged by nomenklatura in power against the Ukrainian people. Rukh demands the removal of these faults and warns that the continuation by state power of anti-popular measures will trigger spontaneous actions of protest which for their part will violate civic peace and impede a possible change in political tack by way of free elections.

Kravchuk Fires Representative in Ternopol Oblast

LD2001204694 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] We have just received a decree of the president of Ukraine, which says that Roman Hronyak, representative of the president of Ukraine in Ternopol Oblast, has been released from his post for gross violations of labor discipline. (Bohdan Andrushkin), first deputy head of Ternopol Oblast state administration, has been charged with carrying out those duties.

Kravchuk Favors Balanced Division of Powers

LD1801211994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1924 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] At a Tuesday conference of representatives of government bodies of all levels in Kiev, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk supported the proposal on the removal of the president from the system of executive power. "The president should not be placed above everyone, just beyond the executive branch of power. He should control, but not interfere," Kravchuk said.

He described as the chief stabilizing factor "a balance of the powers between branches of government and their democratic transformation." Kravchuk promised that presidential structures would do their utmost to hold parliamentary elections in Ukraine and bring "qualified and loyal deputies" to the new parliament. However, in his opinion the elections are not the last step in reforming the system of government. Ukraine needs an integral system with a clear separation of powers.

The president also spoke for holding a referendum on key provisions of the constitution simultaneously with the parliamentary elections on March 27. He confirmed his proposal to drop from the fundamental law provisions concerning the official language, state symbol, and flag, the state order and other matters that might cause political confrontation.

On the latest developments in Crimea, Kravchuk said he believes the new constitution should declare that the executive branch of power in the autonomous republic be formed and act on the basis of the constitution and

legislation of Ukraine as well as the Crimean constitution that should conform with the Ukrainian fundamental law.

Kravchuk suggested amending the constitution offering president powers to cancel the decisions of the Crimean parliament, if they contradict acting Ukrainian legislation.

The speaker of parliament Ivan Plyushch promised that such an amendment would be made and the conference voted for including the matter in the final document.

The president agreed with the proposals of participants to cut down the staffs of executive bodies of all levels by 25%.

Kravchuk Orders Streamlining Local Governments

WS1901211994 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] To improve the system of the state and executive branch institutions, to eliminate duplication of their activities, to elevate the role and responsibility of the state administration while implementing legal acts and carrying out economic reforms, and to reduce expenditures for its upkeep, the Ukrainian president decided the following: The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers shall examine within two weeks a list of ministries, state committees, and other institutions of the legislative and executive branches, and will submit its proposals regarding their reduction and the implementing of other kinds of structural changes. The draft state budget for 1994 shall also reflect a reduction of expenditures for central and local institutions of the legislative and executive branches based on 30 percent cutbacks in the central administration personnel and 20 percent in the local administration personnel. The Crimean Supreme Soviet and local councils shall be advised to undertake relevant measures with regard to governing structures, the streamlining of personnel in regional and local self-governments and their executive committees at an arbitrary scale as of 1 January, 1992 [as heard].

Government Examines Draft Budget, Economic Plan

LD1401150694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 14 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Kiev—Yesterday, the government examined the draft plan for the economic and social development of Ukraine and the draft general budget for 1994. A news conference was held by Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko, and Valentyn Popov, Yuriy Yekhanurov, and Viktor Kalnyk, deputy ministers of the economy, who reported that the Cabinet of Ministers has given a second reading of the plan for socio-economic development and the budget for the third time.

Hryhoriy Pyatachenko stressed that, taking into account anti-inflationary measures and in accordance with a price index of 4.45 [not further specified], "a deficit-free budget was drawn up on a realistic basis," with expenditure of 342 trillion and income of 342 trillion [currency not specified]. "We will make a realistic gross product of 480 trillion, and not 750 trillion, as in the first version of the budget," said Hryhoriy Pyatachenko.

The finance minister proposed that profit tax be increased from 30 percent to 40 percent. Carrying out an instruction by the Supreme Council, the Ministry of Finance is laying down in the budget a reduction of expenditure on maintaining the administrative apparatus, by 30 percent on bodies of executive authority and by 19 percent on local administrations. This step alone should save the budget 388 billion karbovantsi.

Asked by a UNIAN correspondent as to how the annual budget can be a deficit-free one when the Ministry of Finance has planned to receive income of 8.8 trillion and with expenditure of 21.515 trillion in January 1994 alone, the finance minister denied the very existence of a deficit at the beginning of the year, and stated that he believes in adhering to a deficit-free budget. [passage omitted]

Parliament Commission Rejects Draft Budget

LD2001211794 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] The Supreme Council commission for issues of economic reform and national economy management did not support the government's draft state budget of Ukraine for 1994. This has been reported by the commission chairman, people's deputy Volodymyr Pylypchuk. According to him, the budget document, although submitted as a balanced one, is unrealistic both in practical and theoretical terms because it envisions that 73 percent of the gross product or 91 percent of the national income should be distributed through the budget. Besides, the draft budget envisions such a tax pressure which will reduce the index of the producers' business activity, believes Volodymyr Pylypchuk.

Unions Demand Cabinet Resignation, Call Strike

LD1801121494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2006 GMT 17 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—As already reported, Ukraine's Free Trade Unions [VPU] called on Ukrainian citizens to hold an all-Ukrainian strike on 18 January demanding immediate resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers and appointment of a new prime minister who would form a government and implement economic reforms before the election of a new Supreme Council. In an interview for UNIAN today, VPU Chairman Oleksandr Mryl confirmed plans to go ahead with the strike which, according to him, would be staged in the form of a "first Kiev popular assembly," since the city administration refused permission to hold an authorized rally.

According to preliminary calculations, about 10,000 workers from Kiev's Bilshovyk and Leninska Kuznya

plants, pilots, and railroad employees will gather on Independence Square tomorrow morning. It is planned to approve a resolution on the Ukrainian citizens' appeal to support the Free Trade Unions' demands.

According to the plan, the strike will last for two or three weeks until Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers resigns. According to Oleksandr Mryl, telegrams of support for the strike arrived from Lugansk, Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov, and Volyn oblasts. Donetsk miners will also go on strike tomorrow.

Oleksandr Stoyan, chairman of Ukraine's Federation of Trade Unions [FPU], told UNIAN the FPU does not support the strike and will take the stand of an observer.

Party Representatives Present Election Platforms

Christian Democratic, Labor Congress

LD1501223994

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 1710 GMT on 14 January carries another program of a series which gives air time to representatives of various political parties in Ukraine to present their election platforms. An unidentified presenter announces that today's program will present the election platforms of the Christian Democratic Party and the Labor Congress of Ukraine. The Labor Congress of Ukraine is represented by Yuriy Yekhanurov, deputy minister of economy, and (Anatoliy Tovstoukhov), the secretary of the political executive committee of the Labor Congress of Ukraine. The Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine is represented by Vitaliy Zhuravskyy, party chairman.

The first representative of the Labor Congress speaks in Russian. He says the current leadership is to blame for Ukraine's crisis and the current year's budget, adopted by the government, is an example of yet another deception of the people. Therefore, he says, it is clear why political parties and movements are striving to take power.

As background information, the representative says the Labor Congress was formed in April 1993 on the basis of the Union of Small Enterprises, the Union of Leaseholders, several independent trade unions, youth organizations, and the all-Ukrainian Association of Entrepreneurs. Today it has a membership of over 2,000 and affiliations in 18 oblasts and in Kiev. The party is an independent party of centrist orientation and its objective is active participation in the election through the 2nd congress, which is to take place on 29th, the setting up of the socio-political bloc "Solidarity for the Sake of Well-Being and Progress," and the party intends to form a faction in parliament. Among the party's nominees is former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who was nominated by the Dnepropetrovsk organization of the Labor Congress of Ukraine.

The representative then states the party's election program envisages three priorities: man, market economy, and state. In his opinion, neither the West, as a whole, nor Clinton will help Ukraine unless it helps itself.

In conclusion, the first speaker says the party favors expansion of cooperation with Russia and other CIS countries in the economic sphere. The party believes that Ukraine should be a presidential-parliamentary republic with the growing decentralization of the administrative economic system which should lead to federalism. Enterprises and regions should be granted more rights; the social policy should be geared to ensuring people's right to work; salaries and wages should correspond to the cost of living, and support should be rendered to young families, pensioners and invalids.

The second representative of the Labor Congress of Ukraine speaks in Ukrainian. He says the economy should be re-oriented toward satisfying social needs. One of the goals is to increase the number of private owners. Private property will be a basis for improving the economic situation. The state should retain its functions as a regulator during the transitional period of market transformations. More jobs should be created as soon as possible. Credits should be given to working private owners and to those who wish to build their own homes.

Next, the program's presenter invites the audience to watch and listen to a video recording of the election speech made by chairman of the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine Vitaliy Zhuravskyy.

Vitaliy Zhuravskyy says that it is time to do away with miserable existences, scanty wages, sky-rocketing prices, the mafia, and corruption. The Christian Democrats call on the people of Ukraine to elect honest and decent people to the new parliament. Ukrainians have always had worse living conditions than the peoples of democratic countries and those who initiated perestroyka were the first to flee Ukraine to find refuge abroad. For example, the former minister of power engineering of Ukraine, Sklyarov.

Zhuravskyy says the Christian Democrats build their ideology on the philosophy of faith, hope, and charity. His party will insist that Ukraine's share of the former USSR property be returned and that the gold and diamond funds, as well as the property abroad, be divided fairly. Reforms, he says, should be launched in practical terms with agriculture being a priority. The Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine supports different forms of ownership in the countryside.

Continuing with the economy, Zhuravskyy says the energy sources must be diversified and energy-saving production methods must be developed. A rigid credit and financial policy is imperative to curb inflation. However, most important are demonopolization and privatization on a nation-wide scale, as a result of which every citizen should receive his share of the state property. All forms of ownership: state, joint-stock, and

private must be on an equal footing. The taxation system should be revised so as to give a boost to the production sphere.

Zhuravskyy adds that today, during the period of a transition to civilized economic relations the teams led by Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch and President Leonid Kravchuk show total inability and feebleness in forming an efficient government of reformers.

The Christian Democrats favor a strong and efficient army which will ensure Ukraine's territorial integrity. Ukraine should become a state with a powerful space industry, Zhuravskyy says.

On religion, Zhuravskyy says the Christian Democrats support the equality of all church denominations and the separation of church and state. As a human rights organization, the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine believes that human rights and the rights of the nation must not exclude each other.

Finally, Vitaliy Zhuravskyy says his party will use its vast international relations to cope with the Chernobyl aftermath and help its victims. Help will also be provided to labor and war veterans.

Democratic Party, Rukh Platforms

LD1801224794

[Editorial Report] Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian at 1710 GMT on 18 January carries the program "Approaching Elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine." The program features platforms presented by the Democratic Party of Ukraine [Demokratychna Partiya Ukrayiny] and the People's Movement of Ukraine [Narodnyy Rukh Ukrayiny], also known as Rukh. The announcer says each party has been given a 10-minute slot on this evening's program during which each party can presents its views.

The Democratic Party of Ukraine begins its slot with a brief video recording. Party chairman Volodymyr Yavorivskyy then takes the floor in the TV studio, naming some party members, and saying that the Democratic Party was born not out of its leaders' ambitions but out of a reality of building a Ukrainian state. According to sociological polls, Yavorivskyy says, the party occupies first place in Ukraine. He says his party is not looking for enemies, preferring to use the word "opponents."

Yavorivskyy says people are fed up with the statutes and programs of different parties. The Democratic Party is not looking for someone to blame, he says, but for a way out of the complex situation that has arisen. He says the main cause of the current difficulties was that nothing was done with reforms after independence. A reform of the authorities, he says, should have been the first step after independence. But the same weak and irresolute authorities remain, he says.

Yavorivsky favors the law proposed at today's conference of local representatives. In accordance with the law, elections would be held for local leaders who would then bear responsibility for their actions. He goes on to say that the issue of reducing the army should be resolved wisely, adding that servicemen cannot just be thrown onto the street. He proposes that those leaving the army voluntarily could be given a double privatization package and that construction detachments be formed to speedily build accommodation for them.

But the main thing is economic reforms, Yavorivskyy says. He and his party are against shock therapy, because people are already exhausted. It is necessary, however, to advance toward reform. He adds he is convinced people are ready for economic reforms. He says society has been polarized into rich and poor, and that a middle class should be created.

The Democratic Party's slot finishes with another brief video recording.

The entire Rukh slot is taken up by a video recording featuring Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil. Chornovil starts by saying he believes viewers are fed up with traditional election broadcasts from the studio, finding it hard to tell the difference between the programs of various parties and having little faith in them either. He believes the reason for it all is to show that Ukraine has a multi-party system. But this is not so, he says, because of the anti-party nature of the law. If there were a proportional or mixed electoral system, he says, it would be different—fewer parties and one clear winner, which would assume full responsibility for what occurs in Ukraine.

He goes on to say Rukh stands for fundamental political reforms. He mentions today's conference of local representatives, adding that the main elements of the draft law discussed at the conference have been taken from Rukh's program: elections of leaders at all levels, eliminating the post of presidential representative, the president being head of state and not head of the government, with all branches of power being clearly delimited. He goes on to say that the judicial system needs to be reformed because it is deeply corrupt, turning a blind eye to the deeds of the Communist nomenclature. It is necessary, he says, to bring order to the country's finances and put an end to the bedlam. If this were done, pensioners, disabled people, and mothers with many children could be paid twice as much, he says. Reforms should begin immediately.

Chornovil refutes the accusation that democrats conducting reforms have put the country in the situation it is in now, saying democrats have not been in power to do so. Ukraine is traditionally an agricultural state, he says, and therefore it is necessary to start with agrarian reforms. But as the nomenclature has acquired land illegally, it is necessary to return what has been acquired illegally so that conditions are equal before beginning extensive privatization. Rukh pays special attention in

its program to social protection. He says the Communists pose as the greatest protectors of the people, but it is they who brought about the situation in the first place.

Rukh is for assistance directed to where it is most needed, Chornovil says, but it's not for everyone. If privatization and land reform are conducted, Rukh proposes to carry out monetary reform with the introduction of the hryvna. But if the hryvna were to be introduced now, it would share the same fate as the coupon and be dead within a few months. It is necessary to demonopolize extensively, he says. Then there will be true market prices, considerably lower ones than now.

Chornovil concludes by saying Rukh is the greatest political force in Ukraine today. If the viewers support it and it gets at least 25 percent of the seats in parliament, then other reformist forces there could unite around the basis of this foundation and a government of national confidence could be formed. He asks viewers to vote for Rukh candidates, adding "we won't let you down."

Free Peasants, Social Justice Platforms

LD2101000994

[Editorial Report] Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian at 1710 GMT on 20 January carries the program "Approaching Elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine." The program features platforms by the Ukrainian Party of Solidarity and Social Justice [Ukrayinska Partiya Solidarnosti I Sotsiyalnoyi Spravedlyvosti] and the Party of Free Peasants of Ukraine [Partiya Vilnykh Selyan Ukrayiny]. The announcer says each party has been given a 10-minute slot on this evening's program during which each party can present its views.

The first slot is taken up by a video recording made by the Ukrainian Party of Solidarity and Social Justice, featuring party leader Eduard (Lashutin) and Oleksandr (Bulavin). They speak in Russian. They see Ukraine as a community of peoples who live in harmony with each other, mutually enriching each other's cultures. Their party stands for Ukraine going along the path of civilized countries, where all have equal rights and where there is no antagonism between social classes. They propose a society where civic responsibility comes before class or ethnic interests—a society of social partnership without crises or risk. They assure viewers that the situation with inflation and fuel shortages can be stabilized within one year at the most. They cite the experience of other countries without natural fuel resources.

Next, they link the activity of the state sector with private initiative. They propose that the form of managing the state sector and conditions under which it operates be changed, but at the same time not destroying it and creating a climate for the development of initiative in the private sector. Only initiative can fill the market with goods. The state cannot do this alone. The speakers go on to say that the state sector should be partially denationalized and the role of the state decreased, but such reforms should not be conducted in ways that decrease the rates of production and productivity. All reforms should be expedient ones. If the role of the state sector is changed, then a sector serving the interests of the people will be created.

The speakers add that everyone should be provided for, including children, pensioners, students, workers, servicemen, and that the country has erroneously rejected the welfare state of the Soviet Union, which was admired the world over. They want to make life easier for women. New young forces and more professionals should enter the new parliament. They finish by saying that a society with social protection can be created in a short period of time.

The second slot features (Vasyl Hordiyenko), head of the Party of Free Peasants of Ukraine. He starts speaking in Ukrainian and goes on to apologize because he is going to speak in Russian as his Russian is better than his Ukrainian and this will save time. His party was set up on the basis of the association of private farmers of Ukraine and has both private farmers and entrepreneurs among its members. The main aim of the party is to revive free peasants and entrepreneurs as a middle class in Ukraine. All who wish to work on the land should have land, freedom, and state support. If each takes the amount of land he wants and is able to cultivate, the only limit needed is a land tax. Then the allocation of land is not decided by corrupt bureaucrats. He says that the party's program is published in the party newspaper and offers to send a copy of the party's charter and program to whoever asks for them, and gives the party's address and phone numbers for this. He gives the main reason for the current crisis as the Supreme Council's "group of 239" and the president as the leader of that group, who have blocked reforms and privatization. (Hordiyenko) was present at an extended Cabinet session on 13 January 1992 and asked the president to cancel the decree on liberalizing prices. He says that the West was for price liberalization in Russia, but only saw it as as a market for its own goods, and it is price liberalization that has brought about the current situation. There is a way out of the crisis. Political reforms should precede economic reforms.

(Hordiyenko) advocates creating a parliamentary republic and renouncing presidential government and the nomenclature presidential structures of government. The election of a new parliament on a multi-party basis is needed, which would form a government of reformers. As far as economic reforms are concerned, the basis of them should be the right to own land. He mentions the disappearance of Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, head of the Rukh secretariat, and accuses the "party of power." He appeals to President Kravchuk to ensure the safety of all party leaders, and to Levko Lukyanenko to gather representatives from all parties the following day to discuss the issue. He finishes by saying that one should conduct an honest political campaign.

Belarus

Shushkevich Confirms Deployment of Troops in Minsk

WS2101120094 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Text] Who deployed the Interior Ministry Troops on the streets of Minsk yesterday? Ivan Gerasyuk addressed this question to the Supreme Soviet chairman as he took the floor during the so-called miscellaneous portion of today's Supreme Soviet session. Stanislav Stanislavovich [Shushkevich] confirmed that the deployment had indeed taken place. In the vicinity of the Music Comedy Theater, a battalion subordinated to the commander of the Interior Ministry Troops was deployed with full combat readiness. The commander has been summoned to the legislature and will provide his explanations.

Meanwhile, People's Deputy (Verkhun) focused attention on changes in the tax policy and emphasized the fact that the tax on fuel has already increased 50 times compared to last year. Deputy Trusaw again addressed the issue of the eighth television channel. Deputy [name indistinct] expressed his concerns over the fate of unemployed, elderly, and invalid citizens. Deputy Prakapovich one more time called for the adoption of temporary measures to stabilize the situation in the agricultural sector. Deputies also addressed other important issues.

Following the miscellaneous period, it was announced that the session will be held behind closed doors.

'New Scandal' of Troops' Appearance Rocks Parliament

LD2101121794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 21 Jan 94

[By BELINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Minsk January 21 TASS—A new scandal rocked the Belarusian Parliament on Friday [21 January] and lawmakers gave an outline approval to a draft resolution demanding to sack the interior minister and the KGB head.

The scandal erupted after interior troops were sent close to the building where the parliamentary session is going on late on Thursday. Lawmaker Ivan Gerasyuk asked the parliament to clear up on whose orders the troops arrived.

"Without naming the concrete people who gave the order it is impossible to continue the work of the session," he said.

Parliament Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich said that troops appeared in full combat readiness in downtown city and this could have been sanctioned only by the prime minister.

Shushkevich also informed that he had called Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorov and instructed him that his first deputy—interior troops Commander Konstantin Platonov—appears in parliament.

Shushkevich recalled that when the current parliamentary session began interior and reinforced police units appeared on Independence Square as well.

This time the troops appeared after two days of parliamentary discussions about who allowed Lithuanian police to arrest two communist leaders of Lithuania on the territory of independent Belarus.

Mikolas Burokiavicius and Yuozas Jarmalavicius arrived in Minsk for a secret meeting of communist leaders of the three Baltic states, were arrested by Lithuanian police and taken to Vilnius.

Commission Urges Resignation of Yegorov, Shirkovskiy

LD2001192794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] At a closed parliamentary session in Minsk on Thursday, the national security commission formally requested the resignation of Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorov and KGB Chairman Eduard Shirkovskiy.

Yegorov is blamed for arbitrary actions by his subordinates during the recent arrest in Minsk of the former Lithuanian communist party leaders Mykolas Burokevicius and Juozas Jermalavicius. Police arrested the two men without a sanction from the Prosecutor General.

Shirkovskiy is accused of office abuse. The commission believes that as the KGB chief he had to control the situation.

A group of lawmakers also demanded that the Prosecutor General Vasiliy Sholodonov step down.

Meanwhile, as has transpired from a dependable source, the Lithuanian side intends to formally press for the extradition of General Vladimir Uskhopchik, the former Vilnius garrison chief during the events in Lithuania's capital in January of 1991.

Uskhopchik now commands a unit of the 5th Belarussian army corps, headquartered at Bobruisk.

People's Deputies Discuss CIS Charter

WS1801153394 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Report by Mikhail Rutkovski]

[Text] After an extended parliamentary holiday, people's deputies of our Republic resumed their legislative work today. As I have learned at the press center of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, legislators in the Supreme Soviet are to discuss approximately 60 issues.

Today's session was opened by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich. The first half hour was devoted to so-called miscellaneous time. Deputies delivered speeches dedicated to different issues connected with our complex socioeconomic and political life. Many of them appealed for the restoration of order in the Republic and for government officials not to work for themselves, taking advantage of their offices, but to work for the greater good of society and our Republic. The floor was taken by People's Deputies Zhykovskiy, Kholod, Antonchuk, Sudys, and others. Deputies agreed to hear speeches from Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and government representatives concerning Belarus forming a common monetary system with Russia. Later, the Supreme Soviet chairman came forward with a proposal to hold debate on the 44th item on the agenda—ratification of the CIS Charter. Deputy Prime Minister Uladimir Zalamay delivered a speech on this topic.

[Begin Zalamay recording] The main goals of the CIS which are included in this bill are the comprehensive and balanced socioeconomic development of CIS states in the framework of a common economic zone, the improvement of international cooperation and integration, cooperation in protecting peace and international security, implementation of effective measures for reducing weapons and defense expenditures, liquidation of nuclear arms and other types of weapons of mass destruction, accomplishment of complete global disarmament, and the protection of human rights and basic freedoms in accordance with widely recognized norms of international law. [end recording]

Later, the floor was taken by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich. He assessed the situation which has developed concerning the proposed unification of our Republic's monetary-credit system with Russia's. Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich point out that although this is a very complex issue, the government course on unification of the monetary systems is real.

People's Deputy Mikhail Zhebryk delivered a speech on ratification of the CIS Charter. Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka and Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovski also participated in the debate on this issue. The opposition was represented by People's Deputies Uladimir Nolik and Aleh Trusaw. I have invited Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovski to comment on this issue.

[Begin recording] [Rutkovskiy] Pavel Pavlovich, deputies are criticizing the CIS Charter, particularly, the part concerning military union. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Kozlovskiy, in Russian] We in the [Defense] Ministry believe that this charter [on collective security] should be unconditionally ratified, if we want to become a full member of the CIS; and we have spoken about this. The charter includes a paragraph which directly concerns our military—the Republic and the Defense Ministry—and talks about the system of collective security. Addressing this issue at the session, I emphasized that we cannot consider ourselves to be a purely neutral state. Those who once declared their neutrality are now reviewing their statements. Countries are cooperating in Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East, to reduce military expenditures and improve budgets—to take less from a common taxpayer. Therefore, such a system is not a military union. This is a system of coordinating military cooperation, which is currently being established in the CIS on a parity basis. This (?department) is to help establish the National Armed Forces. [end recording]

Deputy Details Discussion on Removal of Shushkevich

AU2001204994 Paris AFP in English 2031 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Minsk, Jan 20 (AFP)—The parliament of Belarus, elected during the Soviet era, voted Thursday [20 January] to discuss removing parliamentary speaker and head of state Stanislav Shushkevich from office, pro-reform deputy Leonid Loiko told AFP.

The deputies, of whom two-thirds were elected under communist colours in 1990, accused Shushkevich of contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and of delaying the return of Belarus to the ruble zone.

The closed-session debate on Shushkevich's future will take place on Friday, Loiko said.

Shushkevich was elected parliamentary speaker, and thus head of state, in September 1991, replacing the conservative Nikolay Dementey who resigned following the failure of a hardline coup attempt in Moscow the previous month.

Along with the Russian and Ukrainian presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk, he signed an accord, prepared at Brest but known as the Minsk Agreement, in December 1991, declaring the end of the Soviet Union and the creation of the loosely constituted Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Belarus deputies also discussed the possible dismissal of Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich, Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorov, secret service chief Eduard Shirkovskiy and state prosecutor Vasiliy Sholodonov, the Baltic News Service reported.

Shushkevich Views Domestic Policies in TV Program

WS2001171294 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 19 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed BELINFORM report: "Stanislav Shuskevich: 'No One But Us Will Put Things in Order"]

[Text] On the evening of 17 January, Belarusian Television broadcast a one-hour-long live call-in program with

Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich who answered many questions of the viewers.

People were interested in various aspects of our aggravating and difficult life. It is understandable that on the eve of the Supreme Soviet session, which is to resume its work on 18 January, viewers wanted to hear Stanislav Stanislavavich's opinion on current matters. He called the situation in Belarus difficult and conflicting, and stated that it should be fundamentally changed. This task is beyond the current Supreme Soviet's powers, so he supports the idea of early elections.

It should be noted that sometimes the questions were posed point-blank. For example, Minsk resident Valyeriy Kharkow wanted to know whether it is not time for the Supreme Soviet chairman to resign of his own will. "If I had seen any advantage to my resignation, or if someone else had secured the holding of new elections, I would have resigned long ago," underlined S. Shushkevich. "Instead, I am doing everything in my power to propel the process of reelecting our parliament by preparing the necessary legal basis."

A viewer from Orsha, having stated that during the last year prices in the Republic increased 28 times, asked why the parliament does not replace Prime Minister Kebich who drove the economy into a dead end, with Karpyenka who is a supporter of market economy. To this S. Shushkevich answered: "The issue is not only in the government. Just look at your neighbor states of the former USSR. The situation there is no better. I think that we must look for people with market ideas and place them in the Cabinet of Ministers. This way we can activate the levers of the market economy."

Of course, the viewer did not forget to ask Stanislav Stanislavavich about his opinion on the unification of currencies with Russia, as well as about the consequences of this serious step for Belarus. The Supreme Soviet chairman stated that if unification brings a parity of prices for energy resources then the economic situation will begin to improve. Yet nobody but we alone can put things in order in our home.

Of course, it was impossible to answer all the viewer's questions during a one-hour cast. Besides, many questions required special references to be answered. Therefore, it was resolved that all the questions that were phoned in during the cast, should be handed to the parliamentary speaker who will answer them in full detail.

Official Seeks Vote of Confidence in State Leaders

LD2001202894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Aleksandr Lukashenko, head of the Belarussian parliamentary ad hoc commission on corruption in top echelons of power, called on the Supreme Soviet at its meeting behind closed doors in Minsk today to hold a secret vote of confidence in Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich, Prosecutor General Vasiliy Sholodonov, Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorov, and KGB Chairman Eduard Shirkovskiy.

Lukashenko believes that these men are to a greater or lesser degree to blame for allowing Lithuanian authorities to kidnap and take to Vilnius Lithuanian communist leaders Mikolas Burokevicius and Juozas Jermalavicius in Minsk on 15 January.

People's Movement To Form 'Shadow' Government

WS2001155894 Minsk RID in Russian 1240 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Forecasts predicting that left-wing forces rather than the opposition would come forward with demands on holding early legislative elections are coming true.

According to RID sources, the People's Movement of Belarus [NDB] has reaffirmed its intentions to participate in early elections. It has also claimed that it has better chances than its opponents expect.

Moreover, in the course of preparation for its congress, due in February, NDB will select candidates for the Shadow Government of National Salvation. A recently released statement confirms NDB aspirations to play an important role on the political Olympus: "No 'coalition' or 'alternative' government will be approved without NDB's acceptance. Any new government is doomed to failure without our approval."

Moldova

Dniester Military Commander Condemns State of Emergency

LD1901155294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1245 GMT 19 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 19 Jan—The authorities of the Dniester Republic introduced the state of economic emergency [chrezvychaynoye ekonomicheskoye polozheniye] "in order to justify repression against the people who have run out of patience with the corrupt and criminal leadership," Mikhail Bergman, military commandant of the Dniester Republic, said today. Together with Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Russian Army, he is known recently for having accused the leaders of the Dniester Republic of "untalented leadership" and for having urged citizens to demand their resignation.

Mikhail Bergman noted that the decree by Igor Smirnov, president of the Dniester Moldavian Republic, says nothing about the collapse of the economy or steps to overcome it. However, the population is being prohibited from holding mass demonstrations and the press is

being instructed strictly to cover only government activity. Failure to implement this decree will result in the dismissal of heads of state enterprises and organizations and the immediate shutting down of private enterprises.

Mikhail Bergman also said that the leaders of the Dniester Republic "deliberately refused to compromise in the talks with Chisinau and to regulate currency circulation with other republics". As a result, former Soviet rubles still in circulation have flooded in from all over the former Soviet Union. Runaway inflation has brought the economy to catastrophe, Bergman stressed in conclusion.

Smirnov Accuses Chisinau of Imposing Economic 'Blockade'

AU2001194094 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2100 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 19/1/1994—From our special correspondent: Dniester Republic President Igor Smirnov blamed today the Moldovan leadership of imposing an economic blockade on the Dniester region, in particular that Moldova annulled the discounts between banks. In his speech during the session of the Dniester Supreme Soviet, Smirnov said that Moldova owed Tiraspol 30 billion rubles for electricity supplied from Dniester. At the same time, the fees for licenses for external economic activity of the Dniester enterprises are transferred into Moldova's budget. The Dniester authorities intend to compel the enterprises in the Dniester Republic to register again. Now all taxes for licenses and other payments will be transferred in the budget of the self- proclaimed republic. According to Smirnov, the Dniester enterprises have transferred in Moldova's budget for the obtained licenses 85 billion rubles. Igor Smirnov also established by a decree customs duty for transiting goods on Dniester territory. According to that decree, for every truck with a cargo a $30 transit tax will be paid. The decree does not refer to transport means belonging to Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.

Dniester Republic Threatens To Cut Off Gas, Power

LD2001204394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Moldovan Prime Minister Andre Sangheli said at a news conference in Chisinau Thursday that the leaders of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic are threatening to cut off the gas and energy supply to the western bank of the Dniester. He talked with the Tiraspol leaders on the telephone Thursday in an attempt to avoid this development.

He did not think that there were good reasons for cutting off the gas supply.

Sangheli said that Tiraspol wanted to discontinue the energy supplies because Moldova had not paid for them.

Dniester Republic Outlaws Moldova Elections

LD1901194994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1722 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic has outlawed any activity aimed at the organization of elections to the new parliament of Moldova in the Dniester Republic.

In accordance with the resolution adopted on Wednesday, the elections to the parliament of Moldova in the Dniester Republic have been outlawed and the persons guilty of organizing the election campaign will be prosecuted.

Observers in Tiraspol link this decision of the Dniester Republic parliament with the decree of the president of the Dniester Republic, Igor Smirnov, on the introduction of a "special situation" in the region.

Parliamentary elections in Moldova will be held on February 27.

Dniester Residents Ask Snegur To Permit Elections

AU2101074394 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2100 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 19/1/1994—President Mircea Snegur met today with inhabitants of Slobozia District and Tiraspol who plead for Moldova's territorial integrity and independence, at their demand, states the presidential press service. The participants have asked the president to permit anticipate parliamentary elections in East Moldovan district, a week or two before February 27th. They said the population could be intimidated by authorities of the so-called Dniester Republic. Referring to the situation in Dniester, Mircea Snegur said the new Parliament will have the right to grant special juridical statute to east regions and localities mostly inhabited with Gagauzians. Snegur asserted that the declarations of Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kozyrev on the heed to defend Russians' right in ex-Soviet republics no not concern Moldova, where Russians have same rights as the local population. This fact was confirmed by representatives of various international organizations that examined the republic's legislation, states the presidential release.

Kazakhstan

China Assures Defense Minister No Territorial Claims

PM2001152994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Anatoliy Ladin report under "News" rubric: "China Has No Territorial Claims on Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Army General S. Nurmagambetov, minister of defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan, has paid an official visit to China at the invitation of Defense Minister Chi Haotian.

On returning from his trip, Nurmagambetov answered questions from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent and other journalists. He said, in particular, that the visit to China was successful. Although no documents were signed, the sides managed to clarify a number of stands on political and military issues affecting mutual interests and to become more closely acquainted. Kazakhstan, which has a 1,700-km border with China, is satisfied that the Chinese side firmly stated the absence of territorial claims on Kazakhstan.

Call To Amend Strategic Nuclear Forces Military Oath

PM1901115194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 94 p 1

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Even Missilemen's Oath Must Be Strategic!"]

[Text] Tugelen Zhukeyev, Republic of Kazakhstan state counselor, has said that around 10,000 Kazakhstanis are serving in Russian troop units of the strategic forces stationed on Kazakhstan's territory. They have to make a choice when taking the military oath: As citizens of one state, should they swear loyalty to another?

Tugelen Zhukeyev believes that a special version of the CIS strategic nuclear forces' military oath would eliminate the whole thorny problem.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Views Economic Accord With Uzbekistan

LD1601185794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Jan 94

[Text] An important event took place in Bishkek today. The presidents of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan signed a number of documents defining the prospects for the further development of bilateral economic relations. Our correspondent says that the agreement on Kyrgyzstan joining the bilateral agreement between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan on setting up a single economic space is the main one. Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev had the following comments:

[Begin Akayev recording] This is what our people, our whole [illegible]n, needs. I think that it is a very bold step which [illegible] serve as the start button for getting an economic union to work on the scale of the whole CIS. I would like to stress once again that this is not a regional separation today. I think that this is happening thanks to decisive actions by Presidents Karimov and Nazarbayev. Today we formed a major economic union. That is, first of all, a single economic space in trade. Second, a single economic space envisages (?a unitarian) policy in the sphere of currency, in the sphere of taxation, in the sphere of pricing and in the sphere of investments. You can imagine what this means—that now, we three states will agree all these questions. I think that this, to a certain extent, is the first historic step on the path from talks to concrete deeds. [end recording]

Communique Issued on Uzbek President's Visit

LD1801183494 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Russian 0220 GMT 18 Jan 94

["Communique on results of official visit to the Kyrgyz Republic by Republic of Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov"]

[Text] At the invitation of President of the Kyrgyz Republic Askar Akayev, an official delegation from the Republic of Uzbekistan, headed by President Islam Karimov, was in the Kyrgyz Republic on 16 January. In the conversations and talks between the leaders of the two states, which passed in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and trust, note was made of the need to strengthen further friendly relations and to deepen interstate cooperation in all fields.

The presidents informed one another about the sociopolitical situation in their countries, and there was discussion of a broad range of issues of mutual interest. The sides exchanged views on the current situation in Central Asia, the CIS, and also on a number of international problems. During the talks note was made of the important role of the accords reached in January 1993 at the Tashkent meeting of heads of Central Asian states, which opened up major prospects in deepening integrational processes. The heads of both states stressed the particular importance of observing the principles of the inviolability of the existing borders between the two states, and spoke in support of constructive efforts in ensuring peace and stability in Central Asia, and primarily on sections of the Tajik-Afghan border. Fundamental accords were reached on the further expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Kyrgyz Republic, and a mutual intention to foster the economic integration of the countries of the region was reaffirmed.

Kyrgyz President Akayev gave a high assessment of the treaty on creating a single economic area between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan of 10 January 1994, and announced the decision of the leadership of the Kyrgyz Republic to join this treaty,

with the consent of the sides. The treaty on the creation of a single economic area makes provision for the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor on the territory of the states which are party to the treaty, and ensures coordinated credit, accounting, budget, tax, pricing, customs, and currency policies between them. The new decision to unite the economic efforts of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan makes provision for the abolition of customs examination of the baggage and hand luggage of citizens of these countries on entering and leaving their borders, and also the abolition of customs duties and the gradual reduction of taxes, duties, and other kinds of restrictions. With a view to simplifying the clearing of mutual payments to the national banks of the said countries, clearing chambers will be opened in the capitals, and branches in other towns of their countries, together with currency exchange outlets.

The sides noted in particular that the treaty on the creation of a single economic area is fully in line with the treaty on the creation of an economic union of the CIS, and represents a new level of economic integration among the independent states.

Uzbek President Islam Karimov stressed that the openness of the treaty on the creation of a single economic area is an important prerequisite for expanding mutually advantageous cooperation and developing the effectiveness of economic relations between the sovereign states.

The following agreements were signed between the governments of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Kyrgyz Republic: on trade and economic cooperation for 1994; on organizing accounts in 1994; on deepening cooperation in the field of culture, health care, science and education, tourism, and sports; and a protocol on making amendments and additions to the agreement on non-trade payments.

The sides agreed to deepen further cooperation in issues relating to environmental protection, and in this connection they made special note of the importance of the fundamental decisions, taken at the conference of heads of state of Central Asia and the Russian Federation in the town of Nukus on 11 January 1994, on the problems of the Aral Sea and the Aral basin aimed at coordinating efforts and deepening cooperation in this sphere. During the talks an accord was reached on further developing the treaty and legal foundation between the two friendly states.

Rukhaniyat, the international association for fostering the revival of spirituality Rukhaniyat, which assessed the activities of Republic of Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov as an outstanding politician and statesman who has made a major contribution to the cause of establishing good-neighborly relations between the peoples of Central Asia, conferred on him a prize for peace and accord between peoples.

Expressing satisfaction with the results of the visit, the sides stressed that their constructive and fruitful talks will serve the further development and strengthening of the historic friendship, mutual understanding, and cooperation between the peoples of the two fraternal countries.

Tajikistan

Rebel Forces Expected To Attack Russian Troops

LD1901205594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Jumaboi, field commander of the Tajik Islamic opposition, plans an attack on a Russian border post of the Khorog unit, a Tajik Foreign Ministry spokesman told Interfax, quoting General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of Russian border troops stationed in Tajikistan, as his source.

The goal of the attack is to provoke a confrontation between Russian border guards and the Badakhshan defense force.

According to Chechulin, most defense commanders had said that they would support the Russian border guards if they are attacked.

The border guards, local authorities, and Badakhshan defense commanders are taking steps to counter such activities aimed at destabilizing the region, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Rakhmanov Expresses Gratitude for CIS Support

LD1901134194 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, Imamali Rakhmanov, has expressed his gratitude to the people and the governments of the CIS, for helping restore the republic's economy, destroyed by the civil war.

In an interview for Russia's newsmen, he said the leaders of the republic are seeking peace and accord between the different political forces, but national revival is hampered by the armed opposition, which continues attempts from neighboring Afghanistan to infiltrate deep inside the republic. And in that connection, Imamali Rakhmanov assessed highly the actions of the CIS collective peacekeeping forces stationed in Tajikistan. They play an important role in stabilizing the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

Rakhmanov Interviewed on Political, Military Issues

PM1901094194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Tajik Supreme Council Chairman I. Rakhmanov, under the "Interlocutor of the Day" rubric, by Colonel Anatoliy Ladin; place and date not given: "Inappropriate To Hold Talks on Battlefield"]

[Text] **Calling Card**

Imamali Sharipovich Rakhmanov was born 5 October 1952 in the village of Dangar in Kulyab Oblast's Dangarinskiy Rayon. He began his working life as an electrician at an oil mill. He served in the Army. He is an economist by training, graduating from Tajik State University in 1982. At the 16th extraordinary session of the Supreme Council in Khudzhand (November 1992) he was elected chairman of the Tajik Supreme Council.

[Ladin] Esteemed Emomali Sharipovich, the situation in Tajikistan is still complex. However, there are noticeable signs of a move away from a military to a peaceful life. What is the republic's leadership doing to speed up this process?

[Rakhmanov] We have been trying to secure peace and tranquillity from the very first days when the republic's new leadership was elected. Over a year has already elapsed since that day but there is of course still a long way to go until we have total tranquillity in political life as well as order in the economy.

The main thing that we have tried to achieve is to unite the people, channel their efforts into reviving our ravaged economy. In our bid to secure civil peace and harmony between the various political forces and public associations, we have declared an amnesty on three occasions. Those people who were embroiled in the armed struggle against the legitimate government by deception have been able to revert to a peaceful life. Those who did not want to lay down their arms have crossed the Pyandzh River over the border into Afghanistan. Now they are destabilizing the situation there, causing concern for the Afghan leadership.

[Ladin] At one time there was a great deal of talk about separatist sentiments among the leaders of certain regions of your republic. Is there a problem of disunity today between Tajikistan's oblasts?

[Rakhmanov] Some people would very much like this problem to materialize. I can assure you that separatist sentiments are not as strong in our republic as some writers are claiming. The central authorities have already established total mutual understanding with Leninabad Oblast. Admittedly, some difficulties have arisen in relations with Gorno-Badakhshan. This was attributable to the fact that some hard-line opposition thugs went there via the Pamir passes. They were afraid of taking responsibility for crimes committed in the south of the republic and in the capital and it paid for them to incite the civilian population of the autonomous oblast to disobey the center. What is more, the thugs blockaded the Dushanbe-Khorog high-mountain road, which immediately made it difficult to deliver economic freight to the oblast, as well as fuel and food. They were also able to exploit this situation....

The blockade has now been lifted. A decree adopted by the Council of Ministers has made provision for 22 billion rubles [R] in early preferential credit to be allocated to the oblast. Aid is being provided to improve medical, trade, and transport services and build housing. Naturally, this is no easy matter since the republic's economy is in the throes of profound crisis.

[Ladin] But Dushanbe is nonetheless not laying down its arms. Nevertheless there is the opinion that the situation in Tajikistan can only be stabilized once and for all by political rather than military means. What would you say to that?

[Rakhmanov] The very question holds a reproof directed at the republic's leadership. But I cannot agree with it. We are forced to use force against an armed adversary. And you will agree that it was inappropriate to set up a negotiating table on the battlefield. The bloodshed had to be stopped first. Which was what we did in late 1992.

We spent the whole of last year establishing mutual understanding and cooperation with frightened peasants and wavering representatives of the intelligentsia. Had we not done this, today we would not have the strategic program for economic reform, the new draft Constitution, and a number of fundamental laws adopted by the parliament. All that is to the credit of academics, lawyers, writers, and highly-qualified specialists. They put their trust in us and followed us. But the time has now come for active political dialogue with leaders of the former opposition, those who did not take part in the armed struggle.

[Ladin] What is your opinion of the role played by Russia and the other CIS states in defending Tajikistan's independence? What effect is the presence of the collective peacekeeping forces having on the situation in the republic?

[Rakhmanov] I would like to pay my profound respects to the relatives and friends of those guys who died in the summer of 1993 in the Russian 12th Border detail. It is hard to find words to express both grief and admiration for the magnitude of the sacrifice! We are sincerely and cordially grateful to the peoples and governments of all the CIS states....

Regrettably, internationalist soldiers are still dying in armed clashes with intruders on the Tajik-Afghan border. It is also the task of the CIS collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan to put an end to this. It is my profound conviction that their very presence will have a favorable effect on the moral climate in the republic and on the population's mood.

The peacekeeping forces' mission is to stabilize the situation on the border. But they are performing a task of general significance for all the CIS peoples, in particular those living in the Central Asian region.

[Ladin] Is Tajikistan today able to set up its own armed forces? In your view, what are the prospects of military cooperation with Russia and other CIS states?

[Rakhmanov] The Tajik people have not made ready to fight anyone. There are no major troop formations stationed on our territory. Only the numerically "reduced" 201st Division, now a Russian division. We therefore found ourselves in an extremely difficult position when the need arose to rebuff large armed gangs infiltrating the border.

We have been creating our own people's army in a combat situation in the direct sense of the word. The republic's Supreme Council has already adopted the Laws "On Defense" and "On the Armed Forces of the Republic of Tajikistan." But we do not have enough money to perform this task. The state budget deficit now totals R130 billion. In view of this, even the upkeep of the collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan is today split as follows: Russia has taken on one-half of all expenditure associated with the collective peacekeeping forces, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are responsible for 15 percent a piece, while Kyrgyzstan and our republic are responsible for 10 percent each.

[Ladin] How do you see the republic's army in the future? Is Tajikistan interested in recruiting officer cadres from other states?

[Rakhmanov] What have we got today? According to the figures of the Defense Ministry, which, incidentally, is also barely a year old, we have formed the Fayzal Saidov 11th Special Purpose Brigade, a special purpose detachment, a helicopter squadron, and a military hospital. There are very few Tajik officers. Historically a military career has not appealed to my compatriots. However, now it is necessary for us to train national military cadres.

The Sangak Safarov Military College has been set up in Dushanbe and a training brigade is being formed. A military lyceum on the lines of the Suvorov School is being organized in Khudzhand. I would like at least one-half of our army to comprise indigenous nationals. But that is a thing of the distant future. We are counting on aid from Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and other friendly states in training highly professional officer cadres, particularly in the middle-level and top echelons of command.

As for the conditions of service in our army for officers from other states, we will follow universally accepted international norms in this. But that is, I repeat, a thing of the future. For the time being let us say a big thank you to the glorious men of the Russian Federation and the other CIS states who are defending the southern borders of the CIS together with our republic's troops.

Uzbekistan

Khamidov Appointed To Replace Finance Minister

LD1901140594 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1112 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov has carried out a reshuffle in the republic's government. Erkin Bakibayev has been released from his post as minister of finance. Bakhtiyar Khamidov has been appointed deputy prime minister and minister of finance. It was he who directed all financial issues and conducted negotiations with the government of Russia on the entry of the republic into the ruble zone. By the same decree, Khamidov is released from his post of prime minister—chairman of the state committee for statistical forecasting of Uzbekistan.

Armenia

New Azerbaijani Offensive Reported in Karabakh

NC1901153094 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Following a massive artillery barrage at 0600 this morning, Azerbaijani troops launched an offensive all along the Karabakh battle front: from Omar pass in the north to Goradiz near the Iranian border in the south. Comparatively large forces have been put into action near Mardakert. There, the Azerbaijanis are using all types of artillery, almost 20 tanks, and other armored cars.

According to reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army headquarters, by noon the Karabakh subunits managed to contain the enemy's pressure in all directions.

The Karabakh fighters witnessed an hour-long clash between two Azerbaijani battalions at the southeastern sector of the front this morning. The Karabakh side still has no information on the reason for the internal armed clash.

As to the situation on Armenia's borders, the relative calm there for the last two days was disrupted last night. Fire was opened on the defensive positions around Yeraskhavan and Sevakavan in Araratskiy Rayon from Nakhichevan at 2125 for half an hour. The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that there were no casualties. Our border guards refrained from retaliating.

No serious incidents were recorded today in the border regions of the Republic.

Defense Minister Denies Air Attack on Azerbaijan

NC1901220294 Yerevan SNARK in English 1531 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, January 19 (SNARK)—Today Armenia's Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan flatly refuted the information spread by IMA-press agency which referring to the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry source runs that on January 18 Armenian assault planes bombed the settlements of the Kazakhskiy and Kedabekskiy regions of Azerbaijan.

"Not a craft took off from airfields of Armenia even with training purpose that day", the defense minister told SNARK. Moreover, continued Sargisyan," an inspection group from Great Britain aiming to assess the information in the armed forces arrived on January 18 in Armenia and is currently inspecting divisions of the Armed Forces of Armenia".

As to Sargisyan, such news is apparently spread for the justification of the Azerbaijani Air Forces' recent air raids upon settlements of Nagorno-Karabakh. Meanwhile, the defense minister did not exclude the possibility of bombing Armenia, for such public misinformation could be used by Azerbaijan as a propaganda trick.

Battles Continue in Karabakh; Casualties Given

NC2001201594 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that peace has prevailed in Armenia's border zones since last night.

The situation remains extremely [word indistinct] in the Karabakh conflict zone, where the [words indistinct] are continuing.

Though not with the original fervor, the Azerbaijani Army is still launching incessant attacks against various sectors of the front.

Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army headquarters reports that the enemy's attacks were halted on every front yesterday. According to verified data, the enemy lost 120 soldiers killed and four armored cars destroyed. Four fighters were killed and nine were injured on the Karabakh side.

The Azerbaijani troops resumed their attack against Mardakert at 0700 this morning.

Intelligence Chief's Selection Seen as Political

PM2001200994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition p 6

[Report by Correspondent Karen Topchyan under the "Armenia" rubric: "Security Officers Are Also Restructuring"]

[Text] Yerevan—Under an edict issued by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, major changes have been outlined in the activity of the State Directorate for National Security [SDNS].

Levon Ter-Petrosyan announced the dissolution of the operational services of the SDNS, the discontinuation of state border guard activities, and the curtailment of the operations carried out by the so-called security services. The president's edict also makes cadre changes to the SDNS leadership, namely appointing David Shakhnazaryan, until recently the Armenian head of state's former special representative at the Nagorno-Karabakh talks, to the post of acting chairman.

Aram Abramyan, the Armenian president's press secretary, noted in an interview with me that the SDNS's functions should only include intelligence and counterintelligence tasks. Regarding the other functions of the former KGB, Mr. Abramyan reminded me that the structures of this organization were established during the era of the Soviet Union when they served other purposes—primarily the persecution of dissidents.

Because we are currently living in a period of democratic changes, these tasks no longer exist and Armenia's citizens enjoy all freedoms, and therefore the special services should only carry out the functions indicated above.

Many observers in Yerevan have also focused attention on the fact that the new director of the country's special services, unlike his predecessor Eduard Simonyants, is a leader of the ruling Armenian Pan-National Movement. His appointment to this important post is in many ways connected with the increased influence of the party in the formation of the country's domestic and foreign policy.

Azerbaijan

Gasanov Turns Down Secretary of State Post

LD2001064094 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Gasan Gasanov, minister of foreign affairs of Azerbaijan, has refused the offer of the post of the republic's secretary of state. An ANI correspondent has learned this from sources close to the government.

At the same time, in the circles of the secretary of state it is reported that Gaydar Aliyev intends to eliminate that post in general and introduce a new post, that of vice president.

Aliyev on 4th Anniversary of 20 Jan 'Tragedy'

NC1901192294 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 19 Jan 94

["President Geydar Aliyev's message on the 4th anniversary of the 20 January tragedy"—read by announcer]

[Text] My dear ones, on the 4th anniversary of the 20 January tragedy, which is written in our history with blood, I solemnly commemorate the sacred memory of the innocent victims of the bloody January and bow my head to our martyrs who have not yet been vindicated.

I express condolences to the Azerbaijani people and to the families, kin, and relatives of our sons and daughters who attained immortality in the struggle for our freedom, and in our sorrowful days I call on all of them to unite in the name of our martyrs.

Today we must stand up for our salvation and the purity of our spiritual world, and we have to embrace our faith and look to the future to save ourselves from the quagmire of tragic incidents.

In their appeals to me as president, martyrs' families and all the citizens of Azerbaijan ask for the speedy restoration of morality and justice.

I swear upon all our martyred sons, who have turned this country into a sacred homeland, and upon the unwavering dignity of our gloomy-eyed elderly mothers and sisters: Rest assured, we will stop the calamity and disaster that have befallen our homeland, which is now overcast by dark clouds. O, rise my sacred people!

[Signed] Geydar Aliyev

Offensive Waged Along Entire Karabakh Front

LD1901130294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1221 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] After a massive artillery preparation approximately at 6:00 a.m. on January 19, the Azerbaijani forces started an offensive along the whole front line, namely from the Omar mountain pass in the north to the village of Goradiz near the Iranian border in the south, the press service of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic's press service [as received] reported to INTERFAX. The largest formations are being waged against the positions of the Karabakh army near the regional center of Mardakert where the Azerbaijani party used artillery, about twenty tanks, and other armored vehicles.

As of 10:00 the Karabakh forces had still managed to restrain the attack.

The press center also reported that on Wednesday morning Karabakh fighters waging hostilities near the populated center of Karakhanbeili in the southeastern direction witnessed a fight between two Azerbaijani battalions with the support of artillery which lasted for an hour.

The reasons for this armed clash in Stepanakert are still unknown.

Meanwhile, a source in Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry reported an attack of the Karabakh forces in the early morning hours of January 19 against the positions of the Azerbaijani army in the north of Nagorno-Karabakh's Mardakert region. One APC of the Armenian formations was destroyed during the fight.

On Tuesday night and Wednesday morning the fight was also going on in the south of Azerbaijan's Fizuli region where the Azerbaijani detachments still managed to rebuff attacks of the Karabakh fighters.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Seeks 'Pretext' for Troop Presence

PM2001144394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 94 First Edition p 6

[Report by Mikhail Dodidze under "Neighboring Countries" rubric: "Georgia: Come and Have Your Say"]

[Text] The Georgian parliament has given its assent for Eduard Shevardnadze to extend the state of emergency in the republic for a further month—until 0000 hours 20 February. In the Georgian leader's opinion, another month is needed for a trend toward improvement in the situation to finally emerge.

However, many people believe that Shevardnadze wants the state of emergency not only to combat bandits, but also as a pretext for the Russian military to continue its participation in securing transport networks and assisting the return of the first wave of refugees to Abkhazia. Shevardnadze intends to discuss the possibility of expanding the Russian military presence in Georgia with Boris Yeltsin, who is planning a visit in early February.

Russian troops are currently continuing to guard railroad communications in western Georgia. They have been rendering this service for almost three months now. The local population look on the Russians maintaining peace with gratitude. Only one incident of a bandit attack on the Russian military has been recorded in all this time.

Representatives of the Georgian delegation at the Geneva talks report that discussions are currently underway on the form of Russian troops' participation in implementing the Geneva agreements. At the same time Boris Dyukov, first deputy commander of the Russian group of troops, denied rumors that Russian Army special purpose units are stationed near Tbilisi in order to establish order in Georgian cities, and that it is planned to relocate four divisions here from Germany. The military, according to Dyukov, does not yet have information about whether Shevardnadze has asked Yeltsin to sent additional military forces to Georgia.

In the opinion of Dzhaba Ioseliani, Yeltsin's forthcoming visit should finally determine Georgia's relations with Russia. "Either we are good neighbors, or we remain a province..."

Emergency Rule Extended; More Troops Sought

MK2101084094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 94 p 3

[Report by Yuriy Simonyan: "On Shevardnadze's Decision, the State of Emergency Has Been Extended. This Time the Parliament Raised No Objections"]

[Excerpts] The latest session of the Georgian parliament was not marked by any particular upheavals: In a brief presentation Shevardnadze outlined his position on the expediency of the state of emergency, and, stressing that the emergency regime has prevented an outbreak of a full-scale civil war and helped accomplish successful operations to destroy criminal gangs, proposed that it should be extended to continue the struggle against banditry. The parliamentarians did not object, and yesterday the head of state signed a corresponding document. [passage omitted]

From time to time high-ranking officials of various services start talking about the need to involve the Russian Army to restore law and order. All this, amid a recent statement by parliament speaker Vakhtang Goguadze on the need to enter the ruble zone and also to seek assistance from the Russian Army, aroused a stormy protest from the opposition.

Eduard Shevardnadze himself made a rather vague statement on this score: Apparently Western expert advice should be sought on the issue of the ruble zone, while crime should be combated with our own resources. This, however, only added fuel to the fire. In particular Irina Sarishvili, a leader of the National Democratic Party and former vice premier, observed sarcastically that if things go on like this, soon Georgia will ask for ministers from Moscow to be invited to run the country. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile on the question of additional Russian troops being brought into Georgia, the command of the Russian army group in the Transcaucasus made it clear that its position on this question does not play a decisive role and that everything depends on the Russian Defense Ministry. [passage omitted]

General Kondratyev Reported to Visit Georgia

LD1901200994 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1610 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] It has emerged from reliable sources that a Russian deputy defense minister, General Kondratyev, has recently visited Georgia. He said that although he is regarded as an enemy in Georgia, his stance is the same as that of the Russian president and defense minister—the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. As for the political status of so-called South Ossetia, it is an internal affair of Georgia.

To verify this information, we turned to Giorgiy Karkarashvili, defense minister of the Republic of Georgia. He said that he does not possess such information. As for General Kondratyev, nobody in Georgia regards him as an enemy, the minister pointed out, adding that during the first talks on the conflict in Abkhazia General Kondratyev had a rather objective and sensible stance.

Russian General Denies Troops Sent to Georgia

NC1901215494 Yerevan SNARK in English 1531 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, January 19 (SNARK)—The General-Major Boris Dzhukov, the assistant commander of the Russian troops in Transcaucasia, called premature the assertions that the Russian troops would provide with the security of the refugees, returning to Abkhazia.

"Everything will be clear only after the meeting of Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze", he has told SNARK today. As it has already been reported the Russia's president visit to Georgia is planned on the first fortnight of February.

The general also refuted the rumors that the Russian special purpose detachments would be located in the Tbilisi suburbs to maintain order in the cities of Georgia.

Moreover, he told some units of the Russian troops are dislocated from Tbilisi and Kutaisi to Adjaria.

Press Service Denies Russia Set Conditions on Ruble Zone

LD1901191094 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY reports that the press secretariat of the Georgian head of state has issued the following statement:

On 13 January this year the Independent Information Agency IBERIA released information alleging that the Russian Government had informed the Georgian authorities through unofficial channels that it would agree to accept Georgia into the ruble zone if Georgia met seven conditions. These conditions include relinquishing foreign assets in Russia's favor; handing over gold reserves to Russia or mortgaging Georgian state property against imported Russian rubles; allowing Russia to approve Georgia's state budget; and allowing Russia to appoint one of the vice presidents of the republic's National Bank by the Russian Government.

The press secretariat of the Georgian head of state is authorized to state that neither it nor the Cabinet of Ministers, the relevant ministries and agencies, or the head of state possess any documents confirming the above-mentioned information.

According to information in our possession, principles of the ruble zone formation are still being formulated. There are differing opinions in this regard among the Commonwealth member states. It should also be noted that none of the drafts being considered includes the conditions listed in the report released by IBERIA. Moreover, conditions for republics' entry into the ruble zone can only be decided on the basis of bilateral talks with individual republics. No one has had such talks with Georgia, which reaffirms the erroneousness of the released information.

There is an impression that certain forces are deliberately trying to mislead the population and use methods unacceptable in journalism as well as nonobjective information to prejudice public opinion. It is also regrettable that the newspaper AKHALGAZRDA IVERIELI [young Iberian] has published the above-mentioned information without checking it first.

The press secretariat of the Georgian head of state is authorized to state that the Independent Information Agency IBERIA has more than once released unchecked information like this. Therefore, the press secretariat believes that when releasing information like this, which does not contribute to the objective coverage of a problem, it is always necessary to indicate the source of the information to prevent similar inaccuracies.

Georgia, Russia Reach Agreement on Trade

LD1901221294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2115 GMT 19 Jan 94

[By GIA-TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi January 20 TASS—Chairman of the Georgian parliament Eduard Shevarnadze received a delegation from Moscow on Wednesday which arrived to practically implement agreements reached between the mayor's offices of Tbilisi and Moscow at recent talks.

Under the agreement, in the first quarter of 1993, Georgia is to receive 3,000 tonnes of potatoes, 5,000 tonnes of flour, 1,000 tonnes of sugar, butter, vegetable oil and canned food in exchange for Georgian tea, champagne, mineral water "Borzhomi" tobacco and citrus fruits.

The first batch of foodstuffs is expected to arrive from Russia in the near future.

The Moscow delegation is led by Vice-Premier of the Moscow government, Aleksey Peshkov.

Shevardnadze Seeks Forensic Test on Gamsakhurdia

LD1901215794 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 2055 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] International experts have been in Tbilisi for several days now. At the invitation of the Georgian Health Ministry, they are to take part in a forensic examination of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's body.

According to messages published in the press, members of the ex-president's family categorically rule out the possibility of carrying out a forensic examination, and set other categorical conditions.

A SAKINFORM correspondent asked Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze to assess the current situation. He said: The will of God is involved in the birth of every person. Therefore, anybody's departure from this world is a regrettable event. This also applies to ex-Georgian president Gamsakhurdia. One should not talk now about who is to blame for the disasters that have befallen the country. As for the decision on the place of burial, this is an exclusive privilege of the family. The burial can take place in Groznyy, as demanded by the family. The Georgian authorities regard the request to carry out an international forensic examination as completely lawful, despite the fact that the ex-president's family opposes this. Of course, this can only happen after the place where the deceased was buried is revealed.

I think that any sensible person would agree, Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out, if I say that the cause of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's death should not be wrapped in mystery and people should know the truth. This is why it is necessary to carry out an examination.

A group is working at the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers which is entrusted with reaching agreement on these issues with Zviad Gamsakhurdia's wife.

Cabinet Appoints Security Adviser, Officials

AU2001073494 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 7 Jan 94 p 2

["Appointments"]

[Text] By a decree of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, Ilia Kukuris dze [son of Kukuri] Gvarishvili has been appointed as chief state adviser on law and order, defense, security, and emergency situations in the Cabinet of Ministers.

By a decree of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, Giorgi Varlamis dze [son of Varlam] Sigua has been approved as Republic of Georgia commercial representative in Ukraine.

By a decree of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, Teimuraz Patsuria has been approved as Republic of Georgia commercial representative in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Official on New Security Body, Ties With Russia

AU2001143494 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 13 Jan 94 p 1

[Interview with Nukri Gogitidze, head of the Department for Coordinating Law Enforcement Bodies in the Service for Coordinating Questions of Defense and National Security attached to the Apparatus of the Head of State, by Yelena Chachua; place and date not given: "Nukri Gogitidze: 'Economic Cooperation Should Not Mean the Violation of the Rights of an Independent State'"]

[Text] The Service for Coordinating Questions of Defense and National Security has been created within the Apparatus of the Head of State. Lieutenant Colonel Nukri Gogitidze has been appointed head of the Department for Coordinating Law Enforcement Bodies.

[Chachua]**Excuse my asking you a not very tactful question: Won't your service become yet one more bureaucratic link in the state structure?**

[Gogitidze] The nature of the question is clear: There is hunger, destruction, and poverty in the country and here we have one more service, one more parasite. Incidentally, this is not an entirely new structure. Those tasks that are today being entrusted to this service were previously fulfilled by different departments and groups; these have now been concentrated into one.

[Chachua]**Crime in the republic and the capital have reached a peak. Can one hope that the activities of your department will enable the fast rising "curve" to take a downswing?**

[Gogitidze] We are called upon to coordinate the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], the Ministry of Security [MB], and the Procurator's Office in the business of the struggle against crime and to restore law and order in the republic. I should point out that the leaders of these power structures, as they are now referred to, are professionals who are devoted to their job and they are sure to achieve success. The first serious steps aimed at strengthening law and order have already been taken. However, much work lies ahead. The wave of violence perpetrated by criminal bands could lead to the "Lebanonization" and "Somalization" of the situation in Georgia and to the establishment on its territory of the rule of the criminal world and the most dreadful tyranny and "bandocracy."

[Chachua]**A boring question comes to mind here: Do you think that order can be established in Georgia only with the help of Russia?**

[Gogitidze] I am opposed to someone else establishing order in our country. This is our mess and we have to clean it up ourselves. We have to strengthen the combat structures of the MVD and the MB and I am certain that, with the support of the public, they will cope by themselves.

However, I believe that we will not be able to resolve questions of military organizational development, the protection of our borders, and so forth without Russia's help. Moreover, Russia, as the successor to the former Soviet Union and as a neighboring power, which, during the last few centuries, has played and continues to play an important role in the life of Georgian society and the Georgian state, is morally obliged to become the guarantor of the stabilization of the situation in Georgia.

It will be very difficult to resolve the problems that have accumulated without recognizing and understanding the role of the Georgian state in the Caucasus and surrounding regions. Georgia is the key to the Caucasus and whoever wishes to acquire economic and political dominance in this region should recognize the value of the role played by Georgia and draw the appropriate conclusions. After all, it is not by chance that the residence of the tsar's governor- general was in Tiflis and that Tbilisi was the administrative center of the Transcaucasus.

In connection with Georgia joining the CIS, mutual relations with our northern neighbor are undergoing changes. The presence of Russian military contingents—air force and naval bases and air defense units—on the territory of Georgia is essential for Russia.

[Chachua]**Do you think that we should agree to the temporary deployment of a limited contingent of Russian troops on the territory of Georgia?**

[Gogitidze] Yes, but under the following conditions. The Russian side should render assistance in the organizational development of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces. It is essential to restore or create an air defense system that will be used in the joint interests of both

states. A start should be made on forming the republic's naval forces with the help of units and subunits of the Black Sea Fleet. The Republic of Georgia Air Force should start to be trained on the Russian Federation Air Force base. Specialists in all branches of the Armed Forces should be trained in military educational institutions in Russia and other CIS countries. The structure and stationing location of Russian troop units should be changed and also the name itself of this contingent; they should be given the appropriate status and all this should be legalized by treaties and so forth.

Decisive and severe measures should be taken in the sphere of guaranteeing national security, protecting borders, the struggle against crime, and ensuring law and order. It would be possible to accelerate the implementation of these measures with Russia's help.

In order to implement these measures, it is necessary to resolve a number of painful problems in the political sphere, something which is difficult without the active interference of Russia. However, close economic cooperation should not mean the violation of the sovereign rights of an independent state.

If Russia wishes to have an equal and reliable ally in the Caucasus region for a long time, with whose help it will be able to exert an influence upon processes taking place in the Near and Middle East, that is to say, if, as a world power, it does not wish to renounce its responsibility for the fate of the world, it should render assistance to Georgia in the aforementioned spheres.

Estonia

Envoy Delivers NATO 'Partnership' Application

WS2001112094 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0754 GMT 20 Jan 94

[All names as received]

[Text] Estonian Ambassador to Brussels Clyde Kull handed over the application for Estonia's joining the NATO "Partnership for Peace" cooperation programme at the NATO headquarters yesterday. Kull also met NATO Deputy Secretary General Gebhardt Von Moltke and Chief of Cabinet of Secretary General Klaus Scharioth. Possible NATO-Estonian Cooperation and Estonian-Russian relations were discussed.

Explanation of Russia's Foreign Policy Sought

WS2001210294 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1855 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, January 20—Despite the correction, on Wednesday [19 January], by the Russian officials, of Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kozyrev's some statements, concerning the Baltic states and the CIS member states, Russia has not dismissed its general viewpoint on the matter, presented by Kozyrev, which should be a cause of anxiety to the international community, Raul Malk, acting head of office of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs told ETA, on Thursday.

"Russia's view that it had 'strategic interests' in relation to its 'near abroad' and it would not give up what has been fought for for so much, is different from the contents of the declaration signed at the summit of Russia and the USA," Malk said, adding that this should still be a cause of anxiety for other countries.

"The world expects Russia to present an explanation as to its attitude towards other states," he stressed. At the summit of the USA and Russia both sides talked about the fact that no divisional lines should be drawn in Europe, Malk said, stressing that calling some states "near abroad" means in itself drawing divisional lines.

Kozyrev's 18 Jan Remarks Protested

LD1901124694 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The Estonian Foreign Ministry has issued a statement in connection with remarks made yesterday by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The Estonian Foreign Ministry is seriously concerned in connection with Foreign Minister Kozyrev's remarks contained in his speech at the conference of ambassadors accredited to Russia, the CIS and the Baltic states. Kozyrev told the ambassadors that it is in Russia's strategic interests to preserve a military presence in these countries.

The Estonian Foreign Ministry draws the attention of the Russian Federation's Foreign Ministry to the fact that international law does not allow for the protection of a country's strategic interests by way of a military presence on the territory of another country without that country's permission. Russia has taken upon itself an internationally recognized obligation according to Article 15 of the CSCE Helsinki Final Document to fully and promptly withdraw its troops from the Baltic states in an orderly manner.

Foreign Minister Kozyrev's statements make Estonia doubt as to whether or not Russia wishes seriously to develop a good-neighborly policy with the Baltic states. Estonia, in good faith, is holding talks with Russia so as to complete the process of Russian troop withdrawal as soon as possible, and is convinced that only adherence to the obligations made in the Helsinki final document will enable Russia to seriously protect its strategic interests.

The Estonian ambassador to Vienna will soon present an official enquiry to the CSCE security forum in connection with Andrey Kozyrev's remarks, as instructed by the Estonian Foreign Ministry, the Estonian Foreign Ministry statement notes.

Parliament Protests Statement

LD1901172894 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1600 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The Riigikogu [parliament] protests resolutely against the position taken by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev which holds that the Baltic states are within Russia's sphere of interest and attempts to justify the continuing unlawful presence of Russian military on Estonian territory. Such statements are in conflict with the CSCE final act of 10 July 1992, in which Russia pledged to withdraw her troops from the Baltic states' territory as soon as possible. The statement also conflicts with interests of international security and peace. For this reason the regulation of all relations between Estonia and Russia has come to a halt. A swift and unconditional withdrawal of Russian troops cannot be based on haggling. The Riigikogu proposes to both president and government to protest resolutely (?against) the Russian Government. The statement was issued today by 30 Riigikogu members and handed over to the ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency] by Vardo Rumessen.

Official Inquiry Presented to CSCE

LD1901175294 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] This morning Ambassador Kalev Stoicescu, the Republic of Estonia's representative to the CSCE, presented an official inquiry to the CSCE security forum [word indistinct] in connection with yesterday's [18 January] speech by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, at a conference of ambassadors accredited to

Russia, CIS, and the Baltic states. The Russian representative has not responded to the inquiry and said that he does not have any instructions to do so.

Minister Olesk Comments

WS1901201994 Tallinn BNS in English 1707 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 19, BNS—Russia's recent anti-Baltic statements become fully understandable if viewed against the developments in the Russian corridors of power, Estonian Population Minister Peeter Olesk said at a press conference today.

"The State Duma has from the first to show itself as a proponent of a strong Russia," Olesk said. "The Russian president and government would rather avoid a sharp clash with the State Duma.

"Obviously, if Russia again begins to lay claim to the Baltic Sea, our independence gets in the way," Olesk noted.

The population minister admitted that some of Russia's latest anti-Baltic statements may be "purely propaganda."

"This, however, shouldn't mislead us," Olesk said. "It is not in the interests of the Western powers that another hotbed of tension emerge in Europe.

"In this case, they may insist that we conduct a consistent policy that doesn't put up the back of Russia or its citizens abroad."

Olesk said Russian officials' statement that Russia won't allow a security vacuum in Estonia gives cause for worry.

"It gives to understand, among other things, that it is Estonia's independence without the presence of foreign troops that creates a security vacuum," he said. "I don't hesitate to say that Moscow attaches great importance to leaving behind a great number of Russians to be used as a tool for interfering in Estonian domestic affairs and Estonia's fate.

"Russia needs a pretext for protecting Russians' interests in Estonia, not for protecting them in Russia," Olesk charged.

The minister maintained Russia's ideology is largely based on the principle of dual citizenship.

"If we don't know the identity of Russian citizens residing in Estonia, it may easily happen that those anonymous citizens get involved in provocations and Estonian policy acquires the reputation of failing to guarantee the security of Russian citizens," Olesk said.

The population minister gave top priority to the continuation of the Estonian-Russian negotiations as a means for ironing out problems between the two countries.

Further on Olesk Comments

WS1801162994 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0742 GMT 18 Jan 94

[From 18 January RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Tuesday, January 18—Estonian-Russian dual citizenship would present a major threat to Estonians national security, Minister for Ethnic Affairs Peeter Olesk warned.

"The introduction of the dual citizenship is an element of the Russian national policy that all the leading Russian ideologists have been calling for. It would enable a hidden restoration of the former Soviet Union," Olesk warned.

There are approximately 41,000 Russian citizens in Estonia, but it is difficult to establish, whether they have dual citizenship, since Russia is hiding the information, Olesk said. If the Estonian authorities do not know who the Russian citizens are, Russia can always consider any act directed against such persons as a provocation, the minister warned. These persons will be used as tools in case Russia needs to prove violations of human rights in Estonia, Olesk predicted.

'Rough Ideas,' 'Themes' for Response

WS1901094494 Tallinn Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Release in English 18 Jan 94

["Rough ideas and themes to help formulate letters to the editor, comments, etc. on the Kozyrev statements today" concerning a continued Russian military presence in states of the former Soviet Union; "These are not necessarily Estonian Foreign Ministry positions": "Ideas for Response to Kozyrev"—received via Internet]

[Text] Big bully terrorizing smaller, weaker neighbors

Russia's image has been seriously hurt by these statements. The only way for Russia unambiguously to demonstrate its respect for Estonia's sovereignty and independence is to meet its international commitments, specifically by meeting the provisions of the July 1992 CSCE final document in which Russia pledged to complete the unconditional, rapid and orderly withdrawal of its troops from Estonian territory.

It is clear from these and previous Russian statements that Russia does not take continued Baltic independence very seriously. Baltic independence is viewed as a temporary annoyance.

[Russian Foreign Minister] Kozyrev has again expressed the Russian policy of "eminent domain." Balts have long warned about the practical implications of concepts such as "near abroad," "special interests," "sphere of Russian interests for centuries." When Hitler announced his plans, the world powers did not take him seriously at first. The West set out on a path of appeasement which

led to world war. Are we really doomed to repeat history? A bite of Baltics will not fill the bear's stomach—it will merely whet his appetite.

Clinton has turned into Bush and Kozyrev turns out to be Zhirinovskiy.

Kozyrev: "Certain elements in those regions (CIS and Baltics) constitute a major threat to those (Russian) interests." Is Kozyrev referring to the democratically elected governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania? Will we now hear demands for the resignation of some or all of the Baltic leaders to be replaced by individuals more "friendly" to Russia???? When have we heard things like this before?!?

Russia has not lived up to its international commitments and obligations, especially on the issue of withdrawing troops (Helsinki Final Document, 1992). In a form of appeasement, the West has not exerted enough pressure to bring this about. As a result, Russia, instead of behaving as a responsible partner in the world community, is now making expansionistic, destabilizing threats.

Clinton's message was fuzzy and seemed to allow conditions to be attached to troop withdrawal, the Russians have now been emboldened.

Russia has no real concern for the Russian-speaking residents in other nations. Those poor people are merely being used as a political tool. The tragic aspect to all this is that resentment may grow against these people since Russian threats will cause them to be viewed as a potential fifth column wherever they reside.

IT IS NOT TOO LATE TO MAKE RUSSIA STOP. A CLEAR, SHARP REACTION FROM THE WEST TO THIS LATEST MOVE WILL MAKE RUSSIA PULL BACK AND SAY, "NO, NO, YOU'VE MISUNDERSTOOD. THAT'S NOT WHAT WE MEANT AT ALL."

Laar Says Gaydar Resignation 'Turn Backwards'

LD1801205694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 18 Jan 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: No. 11 (501)]

[Text] Prime Minister Mart Laar believes that Yegor Gaydar's resignation from the Russian government means "a turn backwards" in the reform policy pursued by Russia.

In his interview with Interfax the premier voiced a supposition that certain moods to turn away from shock therapy and increase state expenditures for social needs spreading in Russia have played a certain role here.

"It's a pity that shortage of funds for these purposes could result in the refusal of reform policy and very hard consequences for all Russia's neighbors, as their successes in economic development depend upon their eastern neighbor," underlined Laar.

"It's strange to hear optimistic statements against such a background stating that nothing has changed in Russia and after the elections everything is continuing as before," he said.

Lithuanian Premier Meets Laar, Views Summit

LD1801225794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1924 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] During his unofficial visit to Estonia, Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius met with his Estonian counterpart, Mart Laar, in Tallinn today.

After the meeting was over, the Lithuanian premier told INTERFAX that the main goal of his visit was to look into Estonia's experience in the transition to local sources of fuel. He pointed out that his meeting with the Estonian prime minister focused on the expansion of bilateral cooperation and the preparation for the meeting of the prime ministers of the three Baltic states scheduled for January 19 in Jurmala.

Slezevicius said that the Latvian and Estonian prime ministers intend to put forward the question of extending the trilateral agreement on free trade concluded in 1993 over agricultural products left outside the scope of the agreement, consular protection of the three states' citizens abroad, etc.

The Lithuanian prime minister said that during his stay in Estonia he examined the weapons the republic purchased from Israel. However, he said that Lithuania did not consider purchasing arms as the acutest issue leaving it out of the agenda.

On Wednesday, Slezevicius and Laar will leave for the meeting of the prime ministers of the Baltic states in Jurmala.

Reinart Appointed Leader of Delegation to Talks

PM1901154794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jan 94 First Edition p 6

[INTERFAX report: "New Leader Appointed"]

[Text] The Estonian Government has appointed Vaino Reinart, leader of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs First Bureau, as leader of the Estonian delegation to the Estonian-Russian interstate negotiations, INTERFAX reports.

As Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar reported at a press conference in Tallinn Tuesday [18 January], several days ago President Lennart Meri conferred on V. Reinart the diplomatic rank of special envoy, "the same as Russian delegation head Vasiliy Svirin." The premier noted that V. Reinart had previously been a member of the Estonian delegation and knows well the specific nature of the negotiations.

In conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent, M. Laar refuted the accusations made in Moscow by Sergey

Stepashin, first deputy director of the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service, that the Estonian secret services were engaged in intelligence work against Russia. "Estonia does not engage in intelligence work against Russia," the prime minister emphasized.

Legislators Pass Health Care Law

WS1801183494 Tallinn BNS in English 1630 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 18, BNS—The Estonian parliament today adopted the law on the health care system with 45 votes for, 11 votes against and six abstentions. The law establishes the legal status of the country's medical institutions and the basis of financing of the health care system.

The law defines medical aid as the activity of doctors with a higher medical education to protect people's health, prolong their lives and improve the quality of life. Medical aid is arranged on three levels: general and specialized aid at the local government level and specialized medical aid on the national level.

A national Health Care Council is to be set up under the government. General administration and supervision of health care will be placed in the hands of the Social Affairs Ministry. County medical officers are going to shape the state's health care policy on the regional level. They will be appointed for a term of five years by county elders, who coordinate the nomination with the Social Affairs Ministry.

The law on the health care system takes effect on Feb. 15.

The legislators amended the law on the relation between the local and the state budgets, and continued the second reading of the surveillance bill. Also Jaan Luik, a member of the State Court, was sworn in.

Latvia

President Clinton Telephones Ulmanis

LD2101043994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0015 GMT 21 Jan 94

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga, 21 Jan—On Thursday evening U.S. President Bill Clinton telephoned Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis. The head of the Baltic state reported on the late night television news, "Clinton categorically asserts that he differentiates between human rights, citizenship, and the question of the withdrawal of Russian troops." The army, said Clinton, must be withdrawn within the deadlines set without any kind of additional conditions. He spoke of his support for the troop withdrawal process and expressed the hope, according to Ulmanis, that Latvia will resolve the issues of human rights and citizenship in the spirit of the provisions of the CSCE. Clinton also stressed "that human rights and citizenship are the affair of each state, of each people." "I think," Ulmanis noted, "that this is very important for us."

During the conversation an exchange of comments took place on the recent utterances of Andrey Kozyrev. The view of the U.S. President, Ulmanis said, "allows Latvia to calm down somewhat." However, Ulmanis added, "we should always be prepared for such an aggressive policy."

According to Ulmanis, Clinton's telephone call "allowed us to dispel many of the suspicions regarding the talks between the United States and Russia."

Russian Navy Commanders Meet Latvian Counterpart

LD2001152294 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] [First announcer] Admiral Igor Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Navy, and Vladimir Yegorov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, met representatives of the Liepaja town council and Gaidis Zeibots, commander of the Latvian naval forces, in Liepaja [sea port in western Latvia] yesterday [19 January] to discuss the timescale for the withdrawal of the units of the Baltic Fleet.

[Second announcer] Representatives of the town council put forward a proposal to the Russian Navy to leave Liepaja by 10 May 1994, thus creating favorable conditions for local elections scheduled for 22 May. Representatives of the Russian side did not give any specific answer to the proposals by the local government, but undertook, nevertheless, to work on that issue.

Ministry Will Not Alter Stance on Comments

WS2001200494 Tallinn BNS in English 1619 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 20, BNS—Latvia received the full text of Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's comments but they did not prompt the Foreign Ministry to alter its previous negative stance on the statements, Minister Georgs Andrejevs told BNS.

Latvia's response to Kozyrev's statements was not reckless because the full text of his speech contains the same ideas of continued military presence in the Baltic region as the ITAR-TASS news agency reported earlier.

The Jan. 19 statement by Baltic prime ministers also does not misconstrue Kozyrev's words in the conference of Russian diplomatic corps representatives.

Andrejevs described Kozyrev's comments as ambigous. They allow for various interpretations, the minister noted.

The Latvian Government was also troubled because the statement followed President Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow, Andrejevs said.

The U.S. State Department, however, demanded Russian clarifications on the statement "if the news accounts on Kozyrev's comments are accurate."

This leads to believe that Russia did not coordinate its political course with the U.S. Government, Andrejevs said.

State Department spokesman Michael McCurry said Jan. 19 that Kozyrev's comments are "certainly at odds with statements by President Yeltsin in Moscow and certainly (are) at odds with things that we've been told by high officials of the Russian Government in our meetings in Moscow and prior to Moscow."

As reported, Kozyrev spoke out against a complete withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics and other former states of the Soviet Union because of Russia's vital interests.

U.S., Russia Said To Agree on Russian Presence

LD1901165894 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1401 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Aleksandrs Kirsteins, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Saeima, does not consider as a change in Russian foreign policy toward the Baltic states the views expressed by the Russian foreign minister on Tuesday regarding a need for Russian military presence in the republics of the former Soviet Union. According to Kirsteins, Kozyrev's remarks are only partly related to the recent visit by U.S. President Clinton to Moscow, because statements made by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his recent visit to Latvia are already evidence of the existence of an agreement between the United States and Russia that Russia should maintain a military presence in Latvia.

It has been clear for a long time that Russia will not leave Latvia of its own accord and that it does not wish to withdraw its troops from the Baltics, Kirsteins explained. He noted that Russia always interprets differently remarks made by its officials, and it is therefore necessary to receive from the Russian Government a more detailed explanation of Kozyrev's statement in the near future.

Talks Leader Criticizes Russia's 'New Stance'

LD1901195694 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The new stance of Russia, expressed by the Russian foreign minister on 18 January, will seriously hamper the Latvian-Russian talks on the withdrawal of troops from our country, according to Martins Virsis, parliamentary secretary at the Latvian Foreign Ministry and leader of the Latvian delegation in talks with Russia. He was speaking at a news conference today. According to information at the disposal of the Latvian Foreign Ministry, Kozyrev's statements have not yet been officially retracted.

Court Chairman on Russian Military Incident

WS1901174694 Riga LETA in English 1550 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, January 19 (LETA)—At the news conference the Chairman of the Latvian High Court, Gvido Zemrbo, made a statement on the report released by the command of the North-Western military groups of the Russian Army. He said that the President and the Latvian Government officially apologized to Russia for the incident on January 10, when two Russian generals were for several hours detained. However, the command of the North-Western forces ordered the use of weapons in the case of assault of the facilities and servicemen of the Russian Army, stationed on the Latvian territory.

Besides, Gvido Zemribo stressed that the Latvian Republic is an independent and democratic state, where only its laws and court may work. Anyone, who commits a crime on the Latvian territory will face the penalty provided by the criminal code of the Latvian Republic. If crimes would be committed by diplomats or other foreigners their cases will be reviewed through the diplomatic channels or in accordance with the mutual agreement between the countries. There is no such an agreement between Latvia and Russia, saying Russian servicemen are not subject to the Latvian jurisdiction. Therefore, the above mentioned deeds and actions by the command of the North-Western military groups violate Latvia's sovereignty, said Gvido Zemribo.

In case Russian servicemen unlawfully use weapons against Latvian residents, they will have to answer for their reactions as it is provided by the Latvian legislature. This refers both to those who used weapons and to those who ordered to use them. Moreover, such crimes will be investigated by the Latvian investigatory bodies and not by the Russian Military Office of Public Prosecutor.

Lithuania

Kozyrev Remarks Said To Refer to 'New Annexation'

KLD1901225994 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] At a news conference on 19 January, Romualdas Ozolas, member of the Lithuanian Seimas, commented on Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev's statement on 18 January on Russia's policy on what Moscow refers to as the near abroad. Ozolas said Kozyrev's statement refers to a new annexation of the Baltic states.

Ozolas said the meeting in Moscow was attended by Russian ambassadors to the CIS countries and the Baltic states, as well as by a big group of Russian generals. It is also noteworthy, Ozolas said, that the meeting was held immediately after the visit by U.S. President Bill Clinton in Russia. According to Ozolas, Kozyrev has hastily distributed the keys to the solution of Russia's most

important problems to the generals—the keys to the CIS countries and the Baltic states. This is confirmed by Kozyrev's words that the refusal of military participation in those states would be the same kind of extremism kind as imperial suppression by tanks.

Deputies Comment on Statements

LD2101100294 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Two statements were made by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev about the Baltic states this week. The Baltic states, continually referred to as the near abroad by the Russian minister and other politicians, are accused of violating the rights of the Russian speaking population.

Looking at the development of the events in Russia and the foreign policy that is being pursued, the Lithuanian Seimas states with concern that of late Russian expansionism toward the Baltic states has become absolutely undisguised.

This was said in the official statement made by the Seimas members. Here is Ilona Rukiene with her report.

[Rukiene] The statement made by the Lithuanian Seimas reads that the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Latvia and Estonia was to end the abnormal situation that is the result of the 1940 aggression by the Soviet Union. These troops had to be withdrawn swiftly and unconditionally, especially after the 10 July 1992 Helsinki summit meeting and the political document adopted by all the European countries, including Russia, as well as in compliance with the UN resolution of 1993.

However, the withdrawal is being suspended and protracted and ultimatum type conditions are being imposed. In addition, the protracted illegal presence of the Russian troops in Latvia is used for provocations and conflicts with threats to use immediately the huge Russian military force against the powerless neighbor.

The Russian foreign minister now makes statements and attacks the Baltic states several days after Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow.

This was also noted by Justinas Karosas, chairman of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Seimas faction.

[Karosas] "The point is that the above-mentioned statement by Kozyrev, regardless of how it may be interpreted, caused my concern because it nevertheless appeared after the meeting of Yeltsin and Clinton in Moscow.

"At that time, on Monday, I was in Copenhagen at the meeting of the European Assembly. The European reaction to these types of Russian actions and statements is negative. I mean the reaction of the European states. I think that the three Baltic states will also react to this accordingly."

[Rukiene] The evident wish of the Russian politicians to divide the Baltic states can also be seen in the statement made by Andrey Kozyrev. While making threats to Latvia he proposes that Latvia should get in line with Lithuania and conclude treaties.

[Karosas] "Besides the Russian efforts to divide the Baltic states, which is understandable, we ourselves have contributed to this as well while competing over who will be the first to declare independence and so on. I am very glad indeed that of late mutual relations between the three Baltic states are becoming normal. It goes without saying that we will help Latvia politically and morally; we are undoubtedly standing with Latvia and Estonia. This is an unofficial concord of the three Baltic states."

[Rukiene] Algirdas Saudargas, member of the Lithuanian Seimas and former foreign minister, noted that there was nothing new in the Russian foreign policy and that Russia was successfully proceeding towards its objective.

[Saudargas] "Indeed, this a diplomacy that strongly defends Russia's interests and is carried out very well indeed. Essentially what they are doing—including such activists as Zhirinovskiy—is testing Western reaction. You can call this screening [preceding word in English] as it is said in English. They make various statements that contradict one another measuring the reaction from the West. Until decisions and changes are established in the Russian policy (?this will continue)."

[Rukiene] In the opinion of Algirdas Saudargas, negotiations are taking place between Russia and the Western states on spheres of influence.

[Saudargas] "A natural division is taking place because Russia has withdrawn from the occupied territories and now this boundary is being established. [as heard] Russia will allow the Visegrad states to join NATO for a certain payment and it will be permitted to establish its influence on the territory of the former Soviet Union. I think that negotiations concerning the Baltic states are still going on."

[Rukiene] Gediminas Kirkilas, member of the Seimas Democratic Labor Party faction, is of the opinion that Andrey Kozyrev's statements are linked with his wish to remain on the post of the minister in the new Russian Government, and his statements, followed in quick succession, are called by Gediminas Kirkilas a political theater taking place after certain agreements with the United States.

[Kirkilas] "Recent events in Lithuania and the unexpected handing over of two criminals to Lithuania compel one to think that, maybe, the way is being paved for alleged violations of rights, which must be defended,

and show to the whole world what is happening in Lithuania [as heard]. On the other hand, we must not [passage indistinct]."

[(Rukiene] Gediminas Kirkilas is for good neighborly relations and cooperation with Russia.

Romualdas Ozolas, Seimas member and leader of the Center Union, is of the opinion that after threatening statements by the Russian foreign minister to Lithuania and other Baltic states a dilemma must be solved: open aggression or a compulsory military alliance with Russia because, in his opinion, Russia did offer any other possibilities [as heard].

Reaction to NATO Membership Application Viewed

WS1401123294 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 6 Jan 94 No. 3 p 4

[Editorial: "We Fully Understand..."]

[Text] This is what Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said when he announced to the nation his official application to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner requesting admittance to this organization. There is no need to speak repeatedly about the Lithuanian nature of this application, because, most probably, the original was written in a foreign language [reference to Russian] and later translated into the state language, as is usually the case here.

However, the persistence which marked the long road to this decision is completely incomprehensible. Future historians may find a great variety of documents when trying to understand the evolution of the Lithuanian mentality toward NATO. There was a statement signed by nine political parties, including representatives of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party. There was a series of news conferences, briefings, and debates.... Every government official was ready to kiss the cross to certify that the dream of their lives and the goal of their activities is to bring Lithuania into NATO. Many people still remember the discussion broadcast over radio, in which Foreign Minister P. Gylys asked a rhetorical question with indignation: "What else do you need to prove that we really want to join NATO? We have already stated that we want to." As it turns out, less than half a month later, a simple statement is in fact not enough. Who lied to whom?

The opposition can raise a glass of champagne. It has sought an official statement on joining NATO with persistence. However, only the resolution adopted by the Seimas [parliament] at the end of the year forced the president to make up his mind. All talk about the unpreparedness of both sides and NATO's indefinite future ended. It was only mentioned that this move would require "determination, new decisions, and large material resources." As of today, we can state the presence of determination alone, while no one has yet mentioned new decisions and the necessary resources. Lithuanian politicians have not yet begun to comment on the president's decision. Only Seimas opposition leader V. Landsbergis expressed his opinion on "Radio Free Europe" on Tuesday night [4 January] and later circulated it to the press. Certainly, the professor also tried to show some concern and to be a little intimidating. "The most important thing is that the process of independence, peace, and European consolidation was not disrupted in the Baltic region by any undemocratic attempts of imperial forces." Such a desire is really timely, the more so since V. Zhirinovskiy is getting restless while explaining his opinion about subsequent relations with the Baltic states. The British Baltic Council has applied to Prime Minister John Major, stating that "these threats cannot be interpreted as shouts of an emotional person." Remembering the fact that thus far, the Lithuanian Government has neither approved nor condemned V. Zhirinovskiy's statements concerning the Baltic states, maybe we should begin to understand the president's letter as a reaction to the escalation of fascism by the "liberals" in Russia. Might this be one of the aforementioned "new decisions?"

We were the first to state clearly that we want to join NATO, and this statement was confirmed by the president's signature. Latvia has not done this yet, but our example may be contagious. We have learned from the Estonian Foreign Ministry that it does not intend to follow Lithuania's example in the near future. However, our move will not encourage the enthusiasm of Russian politicians, because NATO's borders will run into Russia's frontiers and lead to, if not confrontation, then at least some sort of mutual supervision. Yesterday, B. Yeltsin's press secretary circulated a statement which does not question our right to join international organizations, however, our arguments and motives are deemed unconvincing. The expansion of NATO can even destabilize the military situation in the region. This idea is not new. It has already been voiced by Academician Y. Primakov, Russia's chief intelligence officer. Now, this idea has been raised to the presidential level.

We have made a determined move not only on our way to Europe, but also to the world. When doing this, we always discuss our plan of action. The president only mentions that this step will require large expenditures. Being aware of Lithuanians' "rational character," one does not doubt that there are no estimates of costs on the president's desk. Our authorities know how to hide government expenses for one or another action. In our opinion, in this case they confuse their personal pockets with the state's budget coffers—not by wasting money but by hiding expenses. We have already heard about the Napoleon-like plans of the National Defense Ministry to teach all recruits and officers English, to standardize armaments, form a battalion of "blue helmets," and fund commanders' studies abroad. The public already knows a little about the military's habit of spending state money. What will happen now? Democratic countries announce such expenses and debate them. Certainly, it is difficult for Lithuanians to realize that this harms neither defense nor finances.

Every decision has its own price. Until now, we have known only the moral price of this move. We may learn the remaining issues later. Progress toward a civilized community is not easily predicted. Even trains are planning to avoid Lithuania. We wish this decision was not similar to the first steps of the restored state, when everyone was confident that others must fulfill our political instructions and economic ambitions. It would be praiseworthy if our state leaders explained to the Lithuanian people what we have won by this move, because politicians' shuffling is not clear to everyone. A clear understanding of goals would enhance the latter's trust.

Brazauskas on Nation's Motives for Joining NATO

LD1801214394 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1530 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Report on interview with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas by correspondent Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen in Vilnius; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Lithuania attempts to get into NATO but will probably have to be content with the Partnership for Peace offered by NATO. Lithuania, which is worried about its security, is also looking into other directions. It is aiming to have a union with central European countries, and it wants to have closer cooperation with Baltic and Nordic countries. Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas will visit Finland this week. He was interviewed in Vilnius by Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen.

[Maeaettaenen] Lithuania announced at the beginning of this month that it is seeking full membership in NATO. Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, who would have been happy with the Partnership for Peace agreement NATO has offered to several countries, had to give in for internal reasons and partly also because of pressure. Now he justified Lithuania's willingness to Yleisradio [Finnish Broadcasting Company] by taking as an example the Visegrad countries: Poland, Hungary, the Czechs and Slovaks. According to Brazauskas, Lithuania has the same motives with these countries to seek full membership, even though full membership would be very expensive for Lithuania, which is currently suffering economic difficulties.

Lithuania would like security guarantees from NATO because of Kaliningrad, which is part of Russia, but Brazauskas is calm. According to him, one should not frighten people with Kaliningrad, which can be also used in an economic way.

Of the Baltic countries, Estonia views Lithuania's NATO aspirations with extreme reserve. According to the Estonians, Lithuania thus wants to leave the Baltic security policy cooperation. According to the Lithuanians, as long as there are Russian soldiers in Latvia and Estonia, the step to NATO is the Partnership for Peace agreement, and it looks like Lithuania will also have to be satisfied with that.

President Brazauskas will meet NATO representatives in Brussels at the end of this month. Before that he does not agree to say what NATO has offered to Lithuania.

Lithuania's current plans include increasing cooperation with the Visegrad countries, possibly joining these countries. And one way towards a more comprehensive NATO cooperation is the joint peacekeeping forces of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The training of the Baltic peacekeeping battalion of about 650 men will start in Lithuania in the next few months. Preparations have already started.

Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas will arrive for an official visit in Finland 20 January. Like other Baltic countries, Lithuania also wants to have closer contacts with the Nordic countries. Brazauskas sees as one possibility a joint union between the Baltic and the Nordic countries, with the principle three plus five. The idea is a few months old, and it is possible to develop it further, Brazauskas says. He hopes the Finns will take part in energy projects, and he put his hopes on the Via Baltica project. This is a challenge indeed; the problematic customs and passport checks can currently take hours at the borders of the Baltic countries alone.

No 'Major Disputes' in Border Talks With Poland

WS2001202694 Tallinn BNS in English 1619 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 20, BNS—Lithuanian and Polish Government delegations signed on Thursday [20 January] a protocol of the first round of talks on state border delimitation and revision. Lithuania and Poland both recognize the inviolability of the present border.

The delegations, led by Vladislovas Domarkas, Lithuanian deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Eugeniusz Zuziak, representative of the Polish border guard chief commandant's headquarters, meet in Vilnius Jan. 17-21.

The Eastern Europe Division of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry said the first round goes smoothly and without any major disputes.

Reportedly, an agreement on state border and legal relations in the border zone will be completed during the second round of talks. The delegations are scheduled to meet again in Warsaw in March or April.

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